

THE EFFECTS OF TRAINING IN RACIAL IDENTITY STAGE THEORY
ON ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS OF WHITES TOWARD BLACKS

By

ANNE ELIZABETH HEATH

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By

Anne Elizabeth Heath

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Chairman: Greg J. Neimeyer, Ph.D.
Major Department: Counseling Psychology

The purpose of this study was to examine the effects of Minority and Majority Identity Development Training on the attitudes and perceptions of Whites toward Blacks. Three treatment groups, one receiving Minority and Majority Identity Development training, another receiving Minority Identity Development training, and the third a no-treatment control group, were tested on a pre-, post-, and follow-up test basis using several measures of prejudice and stereotyping. Results indicated that subjects who received Minority Identity training in conjunction with Majority Identity training increased in stereotyping and anti-Black attitudes. Subjects who received Minority Identity training alone decreased or remained the same in their attitudes toward Blacks. Possible reasons for these effects are discussed and future research in this area is suggested.

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

As a result of an increased awareness of multicultural concerns in the counseling field, many approaches for training counselors to be effective in cross-cultural situations have been proposed. An approach that has recently gained a great deal of attention is to introduce counselor trainees and professionals to the stage theories of racial identity. For example, the American College Personnel Association (ACPA), a division of the American Association for Counseling and Development (AACD), recently completed a five year program of regional training sessions for counselors and university administrators using the "Stage Model for Minority/Majority Group Member Identity Awareness" as the foundation for understanding and fostering intercultural relations. To date, no research has been conducted to test the impact of identity stage theory training on trainees.

Social psychologists have also developed models for understanding the relationship between majority and minority perceptions and attitudes. One perspective that has attracted considerable attention is the "Outgroup Homogeneity Hypothesis." According to this hypothesis people tend to perceive out-group (i.e. minority) members as

being more homogeneous in their characteristics than in-group (i.e. majority) members. Several social psychologists consider group (or category) differentiation as the central component of the stereotype concept (e.g. Flannagan, Fried, & Holyoak, 1986; Linville, Salovey, & Fischer, 1986). That is, the more one is able to perceive many types within a given category and to distinguish among category members, the less one is stereotyping.

Research on the effects of perceived homogeneity has shown that undifferentiated thinking facilitates more extreme evaluations of individual group members (Linville, 1982; Linville & Jones, 1980), stronger inferences from the behavior of one member to the group as a whole (Quattrone & Jones, 1980), and outgroup discrimination (Wilder, 1978). Conversely, Pettigrew (1981) suggested that perceptions of variety within a group may cause a greater degree of "interactional flexibility" in intergroup relations. Thus, promoting differentiated thinking, as is done when teaching people about stages of racial identity, may be a useful strategy for altering stereotypes and combating prejudice.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the effects of Minority and Majority Identity Development training on Whites' attitudes and perceptions of Blacks. The general questions addressed were as follows: Does training Whites about racial identity development affect stereotyping and

prejudice of Blacks? Does training content have a differential effect on Whites' stereotyping and prejudice of Blacks?

Importance of the Study

This study has important implications regarding interracial relations on college campuses. The recent increase in racial conflicts that have plagued college campuses in the last few years make the results of this study directly applicable to a college student population. Additionally, counselors and university administrators are in need of models and techniques that foster positive contact and communication between groups in general, and between Blacks and Whites in particular. Finally, and what is considered to be primary impetus for this study, trainers in the multicultural counseling field have come to recognize that, compared to other racial groups in the United States, White Americans are less likely to have had the opportunity (or necessity) to learn how to work effectively with culturally and racially different peoples. Many counseling graduate students and professionals are receiving mandatory (covertly or overtly) multicultural training. Little research has been conducted to see what effect this training has on attitudes and beliefs. By exploring the impact of racial identity development training on White people's attitudes and perceptions of Black people, a contribution can be made toward understanding the variables involved in

designing effective multicultural counselor training programs.

CHAPTER II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Training recommendations for multicultural counseling have been generated from the 1975 Austin Conference and the 1978 Dulles Conference. Recommendations included the notion that education and training programs should evaluate their graduates regarding cross-cultural competency, and that continuing professional development should occur beyond the advanced degree (Sue, Bernier, Durran, Feinberg, Pedersen, Smith, & Vasquez-Nuttal, 1982). Furthermore, a recommendation generated from proceedings at the 1973 American Psychological Association Vail Conference boldly stated that it should be regarded as unethical to conduct cross-cultural counseling without being trained or judged competent in the specialty (Korman, 1974). In this chapter I will discuss goals, procedures, and effects of multicultural counselor training, with a special focus on the current role of racial identity stage theory in counselor training. Then I will discuss some of the contributions made by social psychologists toward conceptualizing, measuring, and changing attitudes of Whites toward Blacks.

Goals and Procedures of Multicultural Counselor Training

Among the specific training suggestions made by multicultural counselor educators is that direct exposure of counselors to culturally different populations should be incorporated into cross-cultural training (e.g. Korchin, 1980; Pedersen, Holwill & Shapiro, 1978; Vontress, 1981). Copeland (1983) specifies that a supervised practicum in a setting providing direct exposure to different cultures would be desirable once the trainee has had simulation training (e.g. role-play). Exposure to cultural and racial diversity is not strictly relegated to clients and multicultural training courses. For example, Smith (1982) concludes that increasing minority faculty not only increases the credibility of graduate training programs in the eyes of the ethnic minority students, but may serve to counterbalance the forces of stereotyping in the eyes of White students and faculty.

Several authors suggest that training programs should include at least four components (Copeland, 1983; Helms, 1984; Sue, 1981): a) consciousness raising, b) cognitive/didactic instruction c) affective/empathic development, and d) counseling skills training. Carney and Kahn (1984) have devised a developmental training model that promotes and evaluates changes in knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors. The model consists of five stages of development, each responding to an appropriate training

environment. Several other models have been developed that also emphasize a trainee's level of cultural awareness (e.g. Arredondo-Dowd & Gonsalves, 1980; Copeland, 1982; McDavis & Parker, 1977; Parker, Valley, & Geary, 1986; Sue, 1983). Most recently, Margolis and Rungta (1986) suggested that the best, and most feasible training model to implement, is one where specialized knowledge (of ethnic minorities and other special populations) would be integrated into a single course, insuring that relevant knowledge, awareness, and skills are generalized across populations.

Racial Identity Stages

An area of multicultural counselor training that has gained considerable attention in the field of multicultural counseling is the recognition that differences exist within a particular racial or ethnic group (not just between racial groups). Counselors are warned about the dangers of stereotyping and are encouraged to treat each client as an individual, not merely as a representative of a particular culture or race (Smith, 1977; Sue, 1981). Models of racial identity present one method of conceptualizing differences among members of a particular minority group.

The past two decades have witnessed a significant number of studies that have focused on descriptions and explanations about proposed changes in Black people's racial identity. In the 1970s much of this attention was influenced by the work of Sherif and Sherif (1970), who

suggested that acceptance of one's blackness is not developed in a vacuum. They postulated that initial feelings of inferiority and shame, which develop from growing up in a White-emphasized society, lead to guilt and rage. Eventually, Blacks develop self-confidence and a positive self-concept.

Influenced by the seminal work of Sherif and Sherif (1970), Thomas (1971) proposed, a more comprehensive five-stage developmental model in which Blacks move from a state of confusion about their Black identity and dependence on the dominant White society for self-definition, to one of accepting their position as Black persons in a White world. Similarly, Cross's (1971) four-stage model, known as the "Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience," postulates that one evolves from a self-perception in which blackness is degraded, to a self-perception in which one is firmly secure with one's blackness. Several other theorists have developed similar stage models about Black racial identity (Jackson, 1975; Williams, 1981) and identity of other minority groups (Atkinson, Morton, & D.W. Sue, 1979).

Cross's model has received considerably more research attention than any other model (e.g. Parham & Helms, 1981, 1985a, 1985b; Ponterotto & Wise, 1987). One study in particular stands out from among the rest, lending support for the notion that racial identity development is one of the most important current issues in the field of

multicultural counseling. In this study, the relationship between Black racial identity development and cross-cultural counseling was highlighted (Parham & Helms, 1981). This study was the most referenced empirical article in the multicultural counseling literature as identified in a recent 5-year content analysis of nearly 4,000 citations used in racial/ethnic minority-focussed counseling research (Ponterotto & Sabnani, 1989). Additionally, Cross's (1971) "Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience" was found to be the third-most-referenced conceptual article in the multicultural counseling literature.

Clearly, racial/ethnic identity in general, and Black racial identity in particular is an important contemporary issue in the field of multicultural counseling. Indeed, the April 1989 issue of The Counseling Psychologist is devoted entirely to exploring Black racial identity. Although models of racial identity stages are a basic component of multicultural counselor training, and research has focused almost exclusively on minority populations, particularly Blacks, a recent surge in the literature is challenging this focus. The principle behind the movement is basic to counseling theory--counseling is a relationship; and in multicultural counseling it is predominantly a relationship between a White counselor and a racial/ethnic minority client. Ponterotto (1988) states it well:

Although examining and incorporating the racial identity development levels of minority clientele into

the counseling process is of great importance, so too is the examination of the racial identity and consciousness levels of the counselors, who are oftentimes White. It seems that a whole arena of the counseling process has been neglected. The counseling encounter is a dyadic process in which both interlocutors contribute to the success of the encounter. What pragmatic use will the counselor's understanding of the client's racial consciousness level foster, if the counselor himself or herself is racially 'unconscious.' (p. 149)

The idea that White counselors need to examine their tendency to be "culturally encapsulated" (Wrenn, 1962) or racially blind (Katz & Ivey, 1977) is not new to the field of counseling. Additionally, the APA Executive Goals Committee of Division 17 (Counseling) endorsed the guideline that counselors should be aware of their own values and biases and how they may affect minority clients (Smith, 1982).

A new and significant development in multicultural counselor training is the recognition that White people progress through similar developmental stages as Black people and other racial/ethnic minorities. For example, Helms (1984) developed a five-stage model of White racial consciousness. These stages are Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-Independence, and Autonomy. Helms explained that unlike Blacks, Whites are the dominant race in this country and can choose environments that permit them to remain at a particular stage of racial consciousness. Therefore it is possible that each stage can culminate in either a positive or negative resolution -- positive being

associated with greater personal adjustment and better interpersonal relationships with people of other races. A similar stage theory was developed by Jackson and Hardiman (1983) and Corvin and Wiggins (1989). All three models recognize that for Whites to develop a healthy sense of racial identity, awareness must occur on two issues: (1) awareness of an identity as a member of the White race; and (2) awareness of racism as part of the dominant White culture.

Suggestions for facilitating the development of White racial identity have been made by several authors. For example, Helms (1984) has created a cognitive development model that responds to the trainee's level of racial consciousness. She proposes that trainees start with historical and sociocultural information, then proceed to skill building, cognitive and affective self-awareness, and finally to cultural emersion. This model also takes into account the cultural predisposition of the minority client. As such, it is an interactional model that can be used for investigating cross- and same-race counseling processes.

Corvin and Wiggins (1989) created an antiracism training model for White professionals. Drawing on their own experiences as antiracism trainers, they combined Hardiman's (1982) first two stages and integrated them into a training framework. Parallelling Helms' ideas, they conceptualized four developmental stages based on the belief that in order

for a White person to be able to develop multicultural competence, one must first recognize, assess, and understand oneself as a member of a particular racial group. Additionally, one must also become aware of one's own racism and take active steps to change. Their training procedures involve increasing racial self-awareness, and understanding the existence and impact of racism on other Whites, non-Whites, and on oneself. The procedures are intended to help trainees integrate their experiences by providing a framework for understanding their level of racial attitude development and guidance for continued development.

Ridley (1989) has written on the special multicultural training needs of White professionals. He delineated specific types of behavior exhibited by White counselors that need to be understood and discontinued because they systematically produce adverse consequences for ethnic minority clients: (1) color blindness, (2) excessive color consciousness, (3) failure to recognize or effectively deal with cultural transference, (4) cultural counter-transference, (5) ambivalent counseling motives, (6) evoking pseudotransference, and (7) misinterpreting client nondisclosure.

Effects of Multicultural Counselor Training

Despite the evident need and interest for multicultural counselor training, multicultural counselors view existing efforts as experimental, scarce (Lefley, 1985), and lacking

direction because of the haphazard approach and low priority given to multicultural counselor training. Criticism has also been voiced regarding the inadequate dissemination of information of successful training programs, resulting in unnecessary duplication of efforts and a lack of sophisticated critical analysis of existing programs (D.W. Sue, 1981).

Very little research has been conducted to test the effects of any aspect of multicultural counselor training. However, observations and exploratory studies of graduate students enrolled in "counseling ethnic minorities" classes indicate that a process of attitude change takes place. For example Ponterotto (1988) observed that most of the White students in his multicultural counseling course pass through four stages of "majority" development, similar to the stages described by Helms (1984). Although his findings are based on personal experience and not empirical testing, Ponterotto suggests that students enter class naively and perhaps racist, and emerge accepting and appreciating their own and other races. Research conducted with graduate counseling students enrolled in similar courses at another university indicated that trainees were more conflicted (Fukuyama, Metzler, & Heath (1988) following the completion of the class.

Lefley (1985) discussed the major unresolved issues for cross-cultural training. Among the questions she addressed

were a) who should be trained and at what level, b) can cross-cultural training usefulness be demonstrated empirically, c) and how can its relevance to positive outcome in the field be evaluated? Added to this list is the basic question specifically related to this study: Given the role of racial identity stage theory as a central component of multicultural counselor training, what is the impact of racial identity training on attitudes and perceptions of trainees?

The lack of adequate control groups and the effects of demand characteristics lead to the conclusion that there is a strong need to begin systematic empirical research to test the effects of the various components of multicultural counseling courses on the attitudes and perceptions of counselors-in-training. To date, no research has been conducted to test the impact of racial identity stage theory training on attitudes and perceptions of trainees, despite the fact that it is a primary component of multicultural counseling courses and training seminars.

Attitudes and Perceptions of Whites Toward Blacks

Some of the questions multicultural counselors have about White people's attitudes and perceptions of Black people, and how training experiences may affect these attitudes and perceptions, can be answered by social psychologists. Social psychologists are the major contributors to the psychology of intergroup relations and

have provided a rich mine of empirically based theoretical models of how people process and act upon information about social groups.

For example, research conducted at the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) between 1940 and 1978 (Greeley & Sheatsley, 1971; Hyman & Sheatsley, 1956, 1964; Taylor, Sheatsley, & Greeley, 1978), and the National Advisory Committee of Civil Disorders (Campbell, 1971) is responsible for much of the data on White's attitudes toward Blacks. The NORC surveys conducted in 1942, 1956, 1963, 1970, 1972, and 1976 indicate an egalitarian trend in the expressed racial attitudes of Whites toward Blacks. Research has shown that White's stereotypes of Blacks have become more favorable and more similar to White's stereotypes of Whites.

Unfortunately, other research indicates that these egalitarian trends in racial attitudes and stereotyping may be more superficial than real. For example McConahay, Hardee, and Batts (1981) found that many of the prejudice items used in the opinion surveys are highly susceptible to social desirability influences. Subjects will often change their responses on these items in order to appear more egalitarian than they are. Moreover, research on stereotyping indicates that self-report measures are often systematically distorted to appear less biased (Sigall & Page, 1971).

Research support has been found for several conceptual models that have been developed to understand racial prejudice as it is manifested today. For example, Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) suggest that many White Americans experience a particular type of ambivalence in which there is conflict between feelings and beliefs associated with a sincerely egalitarian value system, and unacknowledged negative feelings and beliefs about Blacks. The negative affect these "aversive racists" have for Blacks is not hostility or hate, rather it involves "discomfort, uneasiness, disgust, and sometimes fear" (p. 63). These authors report evidence showing that Whites do not exhibit bias against Blacks when norms prescribing appropriate behavior are clear; but Whites do discriminate when norms are ambiguous or conflicting.

Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) offer a sociological perspective and explain that prejudice and racism is perpetuated by the structure of society. Beliefs about relative status and power are embedded in social roles and norms. In the most important aspects of American life, Whites currently have advantages relative to Blacks (e.g. standard of living, educational achievement, socioeconomic status, life expectancy, infant mortality). Therefore,

even if people genuinely attempt to reject the socially less desirable stereotypes and characteristics of Blacks, it may be difficult for even the most well-intentioned White person to escape the development of negative beliefs concerning Blacks and to avoid

feelings of superiority and relative good fortune over the fact that they are advantaged. (p. 65)

A similar conclusion was recently reached by Devine (1989). She found that high- and low-prejudiced White students equally generate negative stereotypes about Blacks. However, if low-prejudiced Whites are allowed to monitor their thoughts they actively reject negative stereotypes of Blacks.

Ingroup/Outgroup Perception and Stereotypes

Social psychologists have developed various ways of conceptualizing and measuring stereotypes. Traditionally, stereotypes have been defined as a set of traits that characterize a group of people. Stereotypes were also considered to be inherently bad or deviant, and were usually equated with the concept of prejudice. The vast majority of research on stereotypes is descriptive and uses Katz and Braly's (1933, 1935) checklist method. Subjects are given a list of traits and asked to check the traits that are most typical of a particular group. Using this procedure, a stereotype is defined as those characteristics on which there is consensus among the subjects and is referred to as a "social stereotype."

Currently there is considerable disagreement among researchers about whether or not stereotypes are bad by definition, and whether stereotypes constitute individual or consensual sets of beliefs (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981).

Alternatives to the descriptive method of stereotype measurement, and a cognitive orientation that views stereotypes and stereotyping as natural cognitive processes, have generated research that more fully explores the origins, nature, and effects of stereotypes. For example, McCauley, Stitt, and Segal (1980) propose that stereotypes are not just consensual characterizations of a social group based on a fixed set of adjectives. They criticize this approach stating that the major flaw in the checklist methodology is that it does not provide a measure of individual stereotyping. Instead, they define stereotypes as "those generalizations about a class of people that distinguish that class from others" (p. 197). In essence, stereotyping is differential prediction based on group membership. Additionally, McCauley, Stitt, and Segal (1980) view stereotype predictions as probabilistic rather than all-or-none. Thus, someone who believes that all American's are rude would be stereotyping, but someone who believes that Americans are more likely to be rude than other people of the world is also stereotyping.

Linville and her colleagues (Linville & Fisher, 1986; Linville, Fisher, & Salovey, 1989) offer another perspective on stereotypes and stereotyping. Instead of examining differences between groups (e.g. how Americans differ from people in general), they look at within group differences (e.g. how many different types of Americans one can think

of), and consider the lack of category differentiation to be the primary ingredient of stereotypes. Since individuals are more familiar with groups to which they belong, they will be more differentiated in their thinking about their own group than about other groups. In other words, people tend to perceive outgroup members as being more homogeneous in their traits and behavior than ingroup members. This tendency is referred to as the "Outgroup Homogeneity Hypothesis" (Quattrone & Jones, 1980).

Linville et al. (1989) propose two statistical properties of perceived distribution of the characteristics of social category members: attribute differentiation and perceived variability. Attribute differentiation refers to the probability of distinguishing between two group members in terms of a given attribute. A differential measure can be used to detect stereotyping in the sense of over-generalization and a failure to make distinctions among group members. Perceived variability refers to the extent to which category members are viewed as being widely dispersed about the mean of the attribute. Very low and very high measures of variability reflect two different types of stereotyping; the former reflects very little dispersion, while the latter reflects a tendency to see group members as lying at either of two polar extremes.

Effects of Perceived Out-group Homogeneity

Several researchers have studied the impact that perceived homogeneity has on attitudes and perceptions. For example, Linville and Jones (1980) provided evidence suggesting that because people have more complex schema regarding in-groups than out-groups, judgments of outgroup members will be more extreme or polarized than judgments of in-group members. Perceived out-group homogeneity also seems to be related to out-group discrimination. Wilder (1978) found that subjects discriminated when the out-group was perceived to be unanimous in its behavior but reacted more favorably when the out-group was more individuated.

Quattrone and Jones (1980) hypothesized that the tendency to generalize from the behavior of a group member to the group as a whole is facilitated by perceived homogeneity of the group. In their study, students from two rival universities, Princeton and Rutgers, saw a videotape of either a Princeton or Rutgers student making a decision during a psychology experiment (e.g. to wait alone or with other students). After viewing the choice of the student in the video, subjects were asked to estimate the proportion of students from that same university who would make the identical decision as the student in the video. Overall, the estimated proportions were greater when the student was an outgroup member. That is, Princeton students generalized more strongly to the behavior of the Rutgers population

after observing the choice of the Rutgers participant than they did to the Princeton population after observing the choice of the Princeton participant.

Among the factors Quattrone and Jones concluded to be important when taking into consideration the assessment of an individual's perception of a group's variability are (1) the number of subgroups believed to compose the group, (2) the extent to which characteristics consistent with the group's stereotype are attributed to the average member of the group, and (3) direct ratings of the group's variability.

Nisbett, Krantz, Jepson, and Kunda (1983) replicated and extended Quattrone and Jones study using University of Michigan students. Subject were told that the videotapes were either University of Michigan or Ohio State University students. As Quattrone and Jones reasoned, so had Nisbett and his colleagues: "generalizations about groups from the behavior of its members are mediated by assumptions about variability of group members, . . . it should be possible to manipulate those assumptions and therefore to influence the degree of generalization" (pp. 350-351). Nisbett hypothesized that requiring subjects to contemplate the central tendencies of a university population, before viewing the choice behavior, would cause an increase in the salience of perceived population homogeneity, thus leading subjects to generalize more. As expected, inducing subjects

to contemplate central tendencies increased the degree of generalization.

Several researchers have shown that simply categorizing people into distinct groups is sufficient to arouse intergroup bias (see reviews by Brewer, 1979; Hogg, Abrams, & Patel, 1988; Stephan, 1985; and Wilder, 1986). Similarly, having out-group members respond as individuals rather than as a group (Wilder, 1978), or recategorizing ingroup and outgroup members into one superordinate group, or as separate individuals (Gaertner, Mann, Dovidio, Murrell, & Pomare, 1990) reduces intergroup bias.

Another factor that can increase ingroup/outgroup bias is ingroup cohesiveness. Cohesiveness among ingroup members is related to the effects of similarity, in that increased similarity among ingroup members leads to greater liking of ingroup members and increased outgroup bias (Billig & Tajfel, 1973).

Improving Intergroup Relations

Social psychologists have made a major contribution to the examination of techniques for improving intergroup relations. The most well known approach for modifying intergroup relations is contact.

Many other approaches have been devised to reduce prejudice by using group interaction settings. Studies have used techniques adapted from group therapy, while others have used group discussion and other types of structured

groups. The majority of these techniques have proved to be successful (Stephan, 1985).

Courses or segments of courses on intergroup relations in school settings are among the most widely advocated methods for improving intergroup relations and are the approach most clearly related to the present study. Unfortunately, these studies suffer from some of the same limitations as mentioned in the multicultural counseling research: poor control groups, alternative explanations for positive results (especially demand characteristics), lack of follow-up data, and a lack of comparison of alternative techniques so that there is little information on what types of course materials are most effective (Stephan, 1985).

The purpose of this study was to investigate the effects of Minority and Majority Identity Development theory training on White students' stereotypes and prejudice of Blacks. The subjects, design and procedures, dependent variables, and hypotheses are discussed in the next section.

CHAPTER III METHODS

Subjects

The subjects for this study were drawn from the population of White undergraduate students enrolled in introductory psychology courses. There were a total of 66 subjects participating in the study. Three subjects were dropped from the study because they were significantly older than the others. The remaining 63 consisted of 38 females and 25 males. Ages ranged from 18 to 21. Table 1 presents the number of subjects by group and time.

TABLE 1

Subject Frequency by Group and Time

	Pretest	Posttest	Follow-up
Minority/ Majority Training	21	21	21
Minority Training	15	15	14
No Treatment Control	27	25	22

Design and Procedures

This study is a 3 (group) x 3 (time) mixed factorial design. Subjects signed-up for one of three groups: (1) Treatment Group 1: Minority and Majority Identity stages, (2) Treatment Group 2: Minority Identity stages, and (3) No-treatment control group.

The dependent measures involved a series of paper-and-pencil questions, the majority of which were administered to each subject on a pre-, post-, and follow-up basis, one week prior to the treatment, immediately after the treatment, and three weeks after the treatment, respectively. Two other dependent measures were administered on a posttest basis only. No-treatment control subjects were administered the same questions during the same time intervals as the two treatment groups.

To control for demand characteristics, a research assistant administered the dependent measures and told the subjects that she was conducting a study separate from the researcher administering the training sessions (this author) in an effort to maximize the assignment of credit by asking subjects to participate in two studies back-to-back. The research assistant told subjects that she was doing a statistical project on test-, re-test reliability, and encouraged them to answer the questions as honestly as possible for all three administrations of the questionnaire. Also, to prevent subjects from changing their answers, each

page of the dependent measures was handed out and completed one at a time. The entire packet of dependent measures required 20 minutes to complete.

After the follow-up, dependent measures were collected, subjects were debriefed, and the nature and purpose of the study was revealed. Questions regarding the use of deception were answered (see Appendix A).

Treatment Groups

Both treatment group training sessions were conducted by this author and began by telling subjects that the purpose of the study was to look at the usefulness of a model(s) used when training therapists, administrators, and business managers to become more effective when working with ethnic minorities. At the end of the training session subjects were asked to rate the usefulness of the model(s) for understanding racial identity.

Treatment Group 1 subjects were introduced to the Majority Identity Development Stages and the Minority Identity Development Stages as outlined by the American College Personnel Association's training program. Each subject was given a packet that included a general description of each stage of identity development, followed by examples of behaviors and attitudes and common statements indicative of the stages (see Appendices B and C). Not included in that packet, but presented orally, were the advantages and disadvantages associated with each stage.

Subjects were told to pay close attention during the didactic instruction because they were going to have to place individuals seen in a 30 minute video into the appropriate stage of identity development. The video was a copy of a PBS special about Rutgers University Black and White student's attitudes toward each other. It included detailed interviews with three Black students and two White students. Each interviewed student exhibited attitudes and behaviors that could be associated with a different stage of racial identity.

Subjects were given a Response Sheet (see Appendix D) that included the name of the students seen in the video, followed by the list of identity stage titles. They were encouraged to take notes on their Response Sheet and told that after they completed the sheet they would be asked to share their matches and comments. The training session concluded with a discussion that clarified the model by reviewing the rationale for the correct Response Sheet answers. The session took 1.5 hours.

Treatment Group 2 consisted of the same procedure as the first, without the training in Majority (White) Identity Development. This session lasted 1 hour. Both groups were administered the dependent measures immediately after the training session and again three weeks later.

Control Group

Subjects in the control group were not given any treatment. They were given the same pre-, post- and follow-up dependent measures as the treatment groups.

Dependent Variables

The dependent measures included three measures of prejudice and four measures of stereotypes. The three measures of prejudice were the Modern Racism Scale (MRS), the Central Tendency of the Perceived Distribution Score (M), and Desire for Contact (DFC). The four measures of stereotyping included the Absolute Difference Score (AD), Member-to-Group Inference (MTGI), Probability of Differentiation (PD), and Perceived Variability (Var). Two of these measures were administered on a posttest only basis: Member-to-Group Inference and Desire for Contact (see Appendix E).

Pilot Study

The majority of the dependent variables necessitated the use of 8 attributes. A pilot study was designed and implemented to select the specific attributes (see Appendix F). One hundred students enrolled in an introductory psychology class were asked to generate stereotypes for Blacks and Whites. A sample of 20 of these students was randomly selected and the 4 most frequently cited positive and negative responses were used for the dependent measures.

The pilot was also designed to select the vignettes used for creating the dependent measure used only during the posttest: Member-to-Group Inference and Desire for Contact (see Appendix G). The two most positively and negatively rated vignettes were selected.

Perceived Distribution (Pd, Var, M)

Two measures of Whites' stereotypes and one measure of prejudice were generated by asking subjects to assess perceived distributions of Blacks for eight bipolar attributes selected from the pilot test results. They were asked to distribute 100 Black college students over seven levels of each attribute (as in Linville, Fisher, & Salovey, 1989). For example, subjects were asked to form perceived distributions of the "friendliness of UF Black students" by distributing 100 Black students over seven levels of the attribute friendliness: very unfriendly, unfriendly, somewhat unfriendly, neutral, somewhat friendly, friendly, and very friendly. Therefore, the subjects' task was to estimate what proportion of the Black students at UF are very friendly, and so forth.

Probability of Differentiation (Pd)

The two stereotype measures generated represent the differentiation and variability of the perceived distribution. For the first, let $(p_1, \dots, p_m)$ represent a perceived distribution for an attribute having m discrete levels, where p_i is the subjectively perceived proportion of

category members described by level i of the attribute in question.

Attribute differentiation refers to the probability of distinguishing among group members in terms of a given attribute. The Probability of Differentiation score, P_d , provides a direct measure of this property

$$P_d = 1 - \sum_{i=1,m} p_i^2$$

and is one measure of stereotype used in this study. Operationally defined, P_d reflects the probability that two randomly chosen group members will be perceived to differ in terms of the attribute in question. The Probability of Differentiation score assumes its minimum possible value if one attribute level has a probability of 1.0 and all other levels have a probability of 0. In this case, $P_d = 0$. That is, there is a 0% chance that the perceiver will distinguish between two category members in terms of this attribute because all members of the category are perceived to be the same with respect to this attribute. With a seven point scale, as was used in the present study, P_d assumes its maximum possible value if all attribute levels have a probability of 14.28. In this case P_d would equal .86.

Perceived Variability (Var)

Perceived Variability is the other stereotype measure generated from the subject's perceived distributions of attributes. Operationally defined, Perceived Variability refers to the degree to which the members of a group are

perceived to be widely dispersed (about the mean) in terms of the attribute in question. The variance of a perceived distribution provides a direct measure of this property

$$\text{Var} = \sum_{i=1,m} p_i (X_i - M)^2$$

where X is an interval (or ratio) scale attribute, X_i is the scale value of the i th level of the attribute, the number of levels of the attribute is discrete, and M denotes the mean of the perceived distribution. In this study, the minimum and maximum possible values for Var are 0.0 and 9.0 respectively. For example, when $\text{Var} = 9.0$, it represents the most widely dispersed variability about the mean of the attribute in question because the distribution is perfectly bimodal. That is, the category members were equally divided and put at each extreme end of the seven point scale. Both differentiation and variability have been shown to be conceptually distinct properties of a perceived distribution (Linville et al., 1989).

Central Tendency of the Perceived Distribution (M)

The Central Tendency (M) of the Perceived Distribution Score was used to indicate the overall level of favorability (or prejudice) toward Blacks and is defined by

$$M = \sum_{i=1,m} p_i X_i$$

Using a seven point scale, M ranges from 1 to 7. For example, if when forming perceived distributions of the attribute "friendliness," a subject decides that all 100 Black students are in the seventh category "very friendly,"

then M would equal 7, indicating the highest level of favorability.

Absolute Difference Score (AD)

Whites' stereotypes of Blacks were also measured using a modified version of McCauley and Stitt's (1978) diagnostic ratio. This measure defines stereotypes as "differential trait attributions or differential predictions based on group membership information" (McCauley, Stitt, & Segal, 1980, p. 197). In this study an "Absolute Difference Score" was used instead of a ratio score (see Biernat, 1991) and was calculated as

$$| P(\text{trait 1} \mid \text{Black students}) - P(\text{trait 1} \mid \text{White students}) |$$

For example, subjects were asked to pretend they had met 100 Black students, and of those 100, how many would be friendly. The same question was asked regarding 100 White students. A stereotype exists if one sees Blacks as having more or less of a trait than White students.

Modern Racism Scale (MRS)

The Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981) is designed to measure anti-Black attitudes in a nonreactive fashion. It has proven to be useful in predicting a variety of behaviors including voting patterns and reactions to busing. Subjects indicate their agreement with each of the items on the 5-point rating scale that ranges from -2 (disagree strongly) to +2 (agree strongly). The instrument consists of 22 items, seven of which are used

to calculate the racism score (numbers 1,6,7,9,12,15, and 19). Item number 6 is reversed scored. Thus, the Modern Racism Scale ranges from -14 (low prejudice) to +14 (high prejudice). The scale has good reliability (Cronbach's alpha .83).

Posttest Only Measures

Two other measures were taken for all three groups during the posttest session only: Member-to-Group Inference and Desire for Contact. The former may be conceptualized as a measure of stereotype behavior while the latter may be viewed as a measure of prejudice. Two stereotype measures were generated by asking subjects to determine a group stereotype based on the behavior of one or more members of the group. For example, subjects were presented with a vignette in which a Black student desired to have a meeting with Black and White students to discuss interracial relations. Subjects were asked what percentage of Black students at the University of Florida would be interested in such a meeting.

Three prejudice measures required subjects to indicate their interest in participating in interracial activities and relationships. For example, regarding the same vignette referred to above, subjects were asked how interested they would be in participating in the interracial discussion (see Appendix E).

Hypotheses

Both treatment groups will be exposed to an identity stage model that facilitates the perception of variety within the racial category of Black Americans.

Stereotyping, as it is defined by Linville and her colleagues (1986) should decrease for subjects receiving Minority Identity training. More specifically, the probability of distinguishing between two Blacks in terms of a given attribute (Pd) should increase as a result of training. Also, the extent to which Blacks are viewed as being widely dispersed about the mean of a given attribute (Var) should also increase as a result of training. The resulting two hypotheses are:

1. Treatment Group 1 and 2 will have significantly higher posttest Probability of Differentiation scores (Pd) than the control group.
2. Treatment Group 1 and 2 will have significantly higher posttest Perceived Variability scores (Var) than the control group.

McCauley and Stitt (1980) view the perception of between group differences as the primary component of stereotyping. The more that subjects see themselves (Whites) as similar to Blacks on the various attributes the less they will be stereotyping. Minority Identity training may provide subjects with the opportunity to see how some Blacks are similar to Whites and to themselves.

Additionally, subjects who receive Majority Identity training in conjunction with Minority Identity training, will notice that Whites and Blacks go through similar stages of racial identity development. The third hypothesis is as follows:

3. Treatment Group 1 and 2 will have significantly lower posttest Absolute Difference Scores (AD) than the control group.

Member-to-Group Inference (MTGI) is the third dependent variable that measures stereotyping. Quattrone and Jones (1980) found that the tendency to generalize from the behavior of one group member to the group as a whole is facilitated by perceived group homogeneity. Minority Identity training increases perceived group heterogeneity and should therefore lead to a decrease in Member-to-Group Inference responses. MTGI will be measured on a posttest basis only. The fourth hypotheses is therefore:

4. Treatment Groups 1 and 2 will have significantly lower Member-to-Group Inference scores than the control group.

Prejudice involves an intricate interplay of social, emotional and cognitive sources. Negative affect towards Blacks is related to discomfort, uneasiness, and fear (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Furthermore, stereotyping, or undifferentiated thinking, has been found to facilitate discrimination (Wilder, 1978). Therefore, it is possible

that Minority Identity training may not only lead to a decrease in stereotyping of Blacks but also to a decrease in discomfort, uneasiness, fear, and the negative feelings associated with discrimination. Based on this rationale, the following three hypotheses were created for the three dependent measures of prejudice:

5. Treatment Group 1 and 2 will have significantly lower posttest prejudice scores, as measured by the Central Tendency of the Perceived Distribution score (M), than the control group.
6. Treatment Group 1 and 2 will have significantly lower posttest Modern Racism Scale (MRS) scores than the control group.
7. Treatment Groups 1 and 2 will have significantly lower prejudice scores, as measured by Desire for Contact (DFC), than the control group.

No hypotheses were be made concerning the change in attitudes from posttest to follow-up test because the long term effects of training, if any, are unpredictable.

CHAPTER IV RESULTS

To adjust treatment effects for any pretest differences between groups, a repeated measures analysis with a covariate for time 1 (pretest) scores was performed along dependent measures in a 3 (Minority and Majority Identity training, Minority Identity training, no treatment control) x 3 (pretest, posttest, follow-up test) design. Dependent variables included Probability of Differentiation (Pd), Perceived Variability (Var), Central Tendency of the Perceived Distribution (M), Absolute Difference Score (AD), and the Modern Racism Scale (MRS). In addition, two dependent measures were administered on a posttest only basis (Member-to-Group Inference and Desire for Contact). One-way analyses of variance were performed along each of these measures.

Perceived Distribution (Pd, Var, M)

Probability of Differentiation (Pd)

It was hypothesized that there would be greater posttest means of the Probability of Differentiation scores (Pd) for both Treatment Groups compared to the control group. Results of the 3 (group) x 3 (time) analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) revealed no significant differences. Neither the predicted group effect, $F(2,52) = 1.88$, $p > .16$,

nor the time x group interaction, $F(4,102) = 1.13$, $p > .34$, reached significance, and for this reason results did not support these hypotheses, (see Table 2 for means and standard deviations).

TABLE 2

Means and Standard Deviations for Probability of
Differentiation

Group	N	Pretest		Posttest		Follow-up Test	
		M	S.D.	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Minority/ Majority Training	20	.68	.14	.68	.11	.72	.09
Minority Training	14	.69	.11	.72	.11	.74	.07
No Treatment Control	22	.73	.08	.75	.09	.77	.07

Note. Larger numbers indicate a higher probability that two randomly chosen Black students were perceived to differ along attributes. Numbers in table reflect raw means.

Perceived Variability (Var)

It was hypothesized that there would be higher posttest means of Perceived Variability (Var) for the two Treatment Groups compared to the control group. As with the Pd, the ANCOVA on the Var scores did not yield significance.

Neither the analysis for group, $F(2,52) = 1.92$, $p > .15$, nor the predicted time x group interaction, $F(4,102) = 1.91$,

$p > .11$, reached significance, and for this reason results did not support hypotheses (see Table 3 for means and standard deviations).

TABLE 3
Means and Standard Deviations for Perceived Variability

Group	N	Pretest		Posttest		Follow-up Test	
		M	S.D.	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Minority/ Majority Training	20	2.38	.92	2.23	.91	2.48	.82
Minority Training	14	2.41	.61	2.70	.62	2.61	.62
No Treatment Control	22	2.75	.78	2.78	.65	2.82	.62

Note. Larger numbers indicate less stereotyping and represent the degree to which subjects saw Black students as being widely dispersed (about the mean) in terms of an attribute. Numbers in table reflect raw means.

Central Tendency of the Perceived Distribution (M)

The Central Tendency of the Perceived Distribution (M) is used as a measure of favorableness or prejudice. In order to assess the hypothesis concerning the Central Tendency of the Perceived Distribution in a manner that would be interpretable, separate 3 (group) x 3 (time) ANCOVAS were performed for the positive (e.g. athletic, intelligent) and the negative (e.g. lazy, aggressive)

attributes. Additionally, because of the relationship between M and Var, if M has any significant changes between groups or across time along the same parameters as Var, then those particular results for M will not be reliable.

Positive M

It was hypothesized that there would be a decrease in prejudice, as measured by the Central Tendency of Perceived Distribution scores, for both Treatment Groups as compared to the control group. However, no significant main effect for group was found, $F(2,52)=1.72$, $p>.18$, and clarifying simple effect tests for a significant time x order interaction $F(4,102)=3.33$, $p<.01$ revealed insignificant between group differences on the posttest, $F(2,56)=2.27$, $p>.1$, and follow-up test scores, $F(2,52)=2.37$, $p>.1$.

Simple effects tests for the within subjects variable yielded a significant increase in favorableness across time, $F(2,104)=3.72$, $p<.05$, for subjects who did not receive training. However, because the control group simple effects test for time was also significant for the Var, $F(2,104)=4.03$, $p<.025$, the significant control group effects for M are not interpretable. Simple time effects tests for the other two groups were not significant, $F(2,104)=.841$, $p>.2$, $F(2,104)=.809$, $p>.2$, for Treatment Group 1 and 2 respectively.

TABLE 4

Means and Standard Deviations for the Positive Attributes of
the Central Tendency of Perceived Distribution Score

Group	N	Pretest		Posttest		Follow-up Test	
		M	S.D.	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Minority/ Majority Training	20	3.19	.42	3.25	.50	3.47	.42
Minority Training	14	3.21	.49	3.13	.47	3.23	.45
No Treatment Control	22	3.18	.64	3.38	.62	3.27	.60

Note. Larger numbers indicate greater prejudice toward Black students. Numbers in table reflect raw means.

Negative M

The hypothesis that the two treatment groups would have lower posttest Central Tendency of Perceived Distribution scores than the control group was not supported for Negative M. Results of the 3 x 3 ANCOVA revealed no main effect for group, $F(2,52)=1.30$, $p>.28$. And, as was the case with the Positive M, a significant time x group interaction effect, $F(4,102)=2.39$, $p<.05$, did not lead to significant simple order effects for posttest, $F(2,56)=1.64$, $p>.2$, nor follow-up test, $F(2,52)=2.08$, $p>.13$.

Across time, both treatment groups decreased and then increased in favorableness, with subjects receiving Minority Identity training alone reaching significance, $F(2,104)=3.13$, $p<.05$. A Tukey's ($p<.05$) pairwise comparison revealed that the decrease in favorableness from pretest ($M=4.12$) to posttest ($M=3.95$) was not significant, but the increase in favorableness (or return to pretest levels) from the posttest to follow-up test ($M=4.24$) was significant (see Table 5 for means and standard deviations).

TABLE 5

Means and Standard Deviations for the Negative Attributes of the Central Tendency of the Perceived Distribution Score

Group	N	Pretest		Posttest		Follow-up Test	
		M	S.D.	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Majority/ Minority Training	20	3.88	.77	3.69	.71	3.79	.64
Minority Training	14	4.12	.43	3.95 ^a	.52	4.24 ^b	.38
No Treatment Control	22	3.98	.41	3.99	.44	3.89	.56

Note. Smaller numbers indicate greater prejudice toward Black students. Means with different superscripts differ from each other by at least $p<.05$. Numbers in table reflect raw means.

Absolute Difference Score (AD)

It was hypothesized that there would be a decrease in posttest Absolute Difference Scores (AD) for Treatment Groups 1 and 2 that significantly differed from the control group. The repeated measures ANCOVA revealed nonsignificant main effects for group, $F(2,51)=2.59$, $p<.08$, and time x group, $F(4,100)=2.18$, $p<.07$ (see Table 6 for means and standard deviations).

TABLE 6

Means and Standard Deviations for the
Absolute Difference Score

Group	N	Pretest		Posttest		Follow-up Test	
		M	S.D.	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Minority/ Majority Training	22	17.99	5.84	13.58	6.52	14.91	7.34
Minority Training	14	18.88	5.83	10.75	6.80	10.00	4.64
No Treatment Control	21	13.18	5.06	9.79	7.24	9.26	6.84

Note. Larger numbers indicate greater stereotyping, i.e. seeing Black students as having more or less of a trait than White students. Numbers in table reflect raw means.

Modern Racism Scale (MRS)

It was hypothesized that there would be a decrease in the scores of the Modern Racism Scale for both Treatment Groups as compared to the control group. The repeated measures ANCOVA revealed no significant main effects for group, $F(2,52)=1.27$, $p>.2$; however, there was a significant time x group interaction, $F(4,102)=2.80$, $p<.02$. An analysis of variance on posttest scores yielded significance, $F(2,56)=4.65$, $p<.01$. Subsequent pairwise comparisons revealed that subjects receiving Majority and Minority Identity training were significantly more negative toward Blacks ($M=-3.6$) than were subjects who received training on Minority Identity only ($M=-7.1$) and control group subjects, ($M=-7.3$), $p,.05$, Tukey's. Differences between groups were not significant during the follow-up test.

A significant time effect, $F(2,104)=5.43$, $p<.01$, was reached for subjects who received Majority and Minority Identity training, revealing a significant increase in prejudice from pretest ($M=-4.9$) to posttest ($M=-3.6$), and then significantly decreasing in prejudice from posttest to follow-up test, ($M=-5.5$, Tukey's, $p<.05$), returning to pretest levels. Treatment Group 2 subjects decreased in prejudice after training but the difference was not significant, $F(2,104)=.336$, $p>.2$ (see Table 7 for means and standard deviations).

TABLE 7

Means and Standard Deviations for the Modern Racism Scale

Group	N	Pretest		Posttest		Follow-up Test	
		M	S.D.	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Majority/ Minority Training	20	-4.9 ^c	4.6	-3.6 ^{abcd}	4.1	-5.5 ^d	3.9
Minority Training	14	-6.1	4.2	-6.6 ^a	3.5	-6.3	3.9
No Treatment Control	22	-6.9	4.3	-7.1 ^b	4.6	-7.3	5.1

Note. Larger numbers (i.e. more positive) indicate greater negative attitudes toward Blacks. Means with a common single-letter superscript differ from each other by at least $p < .05$. Numbers in table reflect raw means.

Posttest Only Measures

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed on each question assessed by the dependent measures that were administered during the posttest session only. Simple effects measures were performed when appropriate.

Member-to-Group Inference (MTGI)

Two questions relevant to the study addressed Member-to-Group Inference. It was hypothesized that Treatment Groups 1 and 2 would have significantly lower MTGI scores than the control group. A one-way analysis of variance

yielded a tendency toward a significant main effect, $F(2,60)=2.81$, $p>.06$, for the question (number I.a., Appendix E) that began with the vignette "A Black student asked to meet with Vice President Art Sandeen to express his desire to get Black and White students together to discuss ways to improve relations between Blacks and Whites on campus." Subjects were asked what percentage of UF Black students would want to be involved in such a meeting (see Table 8 for means and standard deviations).

The second question (number III.d., Appendix E) yielded a significant main effect, $F(2,60)=3.83$, $p<.02$, and began with the vignette "A Black student was feeling angry and picked a fight with a White student for no apparent reason," and asked subjects "What percentage of Black students at UF do you believe would exhibit the type of behavior as the Black student in this episode?" A Tukey's pairwise comparison yielded significant differences ($p<.05$) between means of Treatment Group 1 ($M=27.1$) and the means for both Treatment Group 2 ($M=15.6$) and the control group ($M=17$) along this question. In other words, subjects receiving Minority and Majority Identity training were more negatively stereotypical in their view toward Black students than subjects who received Minority Identity training only and no training.

TABLE 8

Means and Standard Deviations for Member-to-Group Inference

Group	N	Questions			
		I.a.		III.d.	
		M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Minority/ Majority Training	21	39.9	17.4	27.1 ^a	16.7
Minority Training	16	45.5	16.5	15.6 ^b	9.2
No Treatment Control	26	53.6	23.3	17.0 ^b	14.8

Note. Larger numbers for I.a. indicate a positive MTGI, while large numbers for III.d. indicate a negative MTGI. Means with different superscripts differ from each other by at least $p < .05$.

Desire for Contact (DFC)

Three questions asked during the posttest session only addressed subjects' interest in becoming involved in an interracial dialogue and having friends who are Black students. It was hypothesized that Treatment Group 1 and 2 would have significantly lower prejudice scores, as measured by DFC, than the control group. One-way analyses of

variance yielded significant main effects for two of these questions (see Table 9 for means and standard deviations).

TABLE 9

Means and Standard Deviations for Desire for Contact

Group	Questions					
	I.b		IV.f.		IV.g.	
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Minority/ Majority Training	3.8 ^a	1.64	3.1 ^{bc}	1.48	2.1	1.46
Minority Training	2.1 ^a	1.18	1.9 ^b	1.18	3.2	1.28
No Treatment Control	2.8	1.44	2.1 ^c	1.33	2.9	1.5

Note. Larger numbers for I.b. and IV.f. indicate less desire for contact with Black students. Smaller numbers for IV.g. indicate less desire for contact. Means with a common single-letter superscript differ by at least $p < .05$.

Significant group differences were found, $F(2,57)=5.89$, $p < .004$, for the question (number I.b., Appendix E) that began with the vignette "A Black student asked to meet with Vice President Art Sandeen to express his desire to get Black and White students together to discuss ways to improve relations between Blacks and Whites on campus," and asked

subjects "How interested would you be in participating in a discussion like this?" A Tukey's pairwise comparison indicated that subjects who received Minority and Majority Identity training (Treatment Group 1) were significantly less interested in participating in the interracial discussion ($\bar{M}=3.8$) than subjects who received Minority Identity training only ($\bar{M}=2.1$).

Significant group differences were also found, $F(2,57)=4.68$, $p<.01$, for the question (IV.f.) that asked, "In general, how interested would you be in becoming friends with Black students at UF?" A Tukey's pairwise comparison indicated that subjects who received Minority and Majority Identity training ($\bar{M}=3.1$) were significantly less interested in becoming friends with Black students than were subjects who received Minority Identity training only ($\bar{M}=1.9$) or no training ($\bar{M}=2.1$).

No significant differences were found for the question (IV.g.) that asked subjects, "If you were to have 10 very close friends from UF by the time you graduate, how many of them would you like to have that were Black," $F(2,52)=2.87$, $p>.06$.

Post Hoc Analyses

Training Receptivity and the Dependent Variables

This study required that two groups receive training in Majority and/or Minority Identity Development. As part of the training, subjects were asked to indicate on a response

sheet into which identity stage students seen in a video belonged. Subjects in Treatment Group 1 had to respond to five video-taped students while Treatment Group 2 subjects responded to three of the students. The range of incorrect answers was from 0 to 2. No subject picked all incorrect responses, but compared to Treatment Group 1, a higher percentage of Treatment Group 2 subjects picked all correct responses (see Table 10).

TABLE 10

Percentage of Subjects Answering Incorrectly
on the Response Sheet

	None Incorrect	One Incorrect	Two Incorrect
Minority/ Majority Training	45%	40%	15%
Minority Training	73%	20%	6%

It is possible that subjects who had difficulty matching individuals with their appropriate stage were less receptive to training because of anti-Black attitudes. A post hoc decision was made to assess whether there was a relationship between the ability to learn the racial identity stages, as measured by response sheet answers, and the dependent variables. The percentage of correct answers ("Learn" variable) was calculated for each subject and

correlated with the pretest scores of the dependent variables. There was a significant trend toward a positive correlation between Positive M and the Learn variable, $r=.39$, $p>.08$, and a trend toward a negative correlation between Negative M and the Learn variable, $r=-.39$, $p>.08$ for Treatment Group 1. That is, subjects higher in prejudice may have been less receptive to training while those with positive feelings toward Blacks were more receptive to training. No other correlations for either treatment group were close to significance.

Training Relevance of the Attributes Used in the Dependent Variables

It is possible that non-significant results on measures of Pd, Var, Positive and Negative M, and AD were related to the relevance of the attributes used in these measures to the training received by subjects. For example, the attributes "aggressive," "clickish," "friendly," and "prejudiced" (see Appendix E) were addressed or implied during the racial identity training, and used to generate the Pd, Var, Positive and Negative M, and AD. Conversely, the attributes "athletic," "intelligent," "lazy," and "trustworthy" were not addressed during the training but were also used in calculating the above dependent variables. To explore the possibility that attribute relevance may have led to not finding a treatment effect where there might have been one, separate ANCOVAs were performed for relevant and

non-relevant attributes of the Pd, Var, Positive and Negative M, and AD.

Probability of Differentiation (Pd)

Results of the ANCOVA for the relevant attributes revealed a significant order effect, $F(2,52)=3.17$, $p=.05$, and a non-significant time x order effect, $F(4,104)=1.21$, $p>.31$. A follow-up test (Tukey's, $p<.05$) for the significant order effect yielded significant differences between the overall means of Treatment Group 1 ($M=.696$) and the control group ($M=.77$), indicating that overall, Treatment Group 1 subjects stereotyped more (differentiated less) than control group subjects.

Results of the ANCOVA for the non-relevant attributes of the Pd did not yield significant order, $F(2,52)=.72$, $p>.49$, nor time x order effects, $F(4,104)=.46$, $p>.76$.

Perceived Variability (Var)

The ANCOVA on the relevant attributes of the Var revealed a significant order, $F(2,52)=4.33$, $p=.01$, and a significant time x order effect, $F(4,104)=4.15$, $p<.004$. Simple effects test for order revealed a significant posttest difference, $F(2,56)=7.76$, $p=.001$, with Treatment Group 1 ($M=2.0$) demonstrating significantly more stereotyping (less perceived variability) than Treatment Group 2 ($M=2.6$) and the control group ($M=2.8$). There were no significant between group differences for time 3 (follow-up test), $F(2,52)=.79$, $p>.46$.

Simple effects tests for the within subjects variable yielded a significant overall time effect for Treatment Group 1, $F(2,104)=5.25$, $p<.01$, with the increase in stereotyping from pretest ($M=2.41$) to posttest ($M=2.0$) reaching significance. The changes across time for Treatment Group 2, $F(2,104)=.21$, $p>.2$, and the control group, $F(2,104)=1.49$, $p>.2$, did not reach significance.

Results of the ANCOVA for the non-relevant attributes of the Var did not yield significant order, $F(2,52)=.47$, $p>.63$, nor time x order effects, $F(4,104)=1.27$, $p>.29$.

Positive M

The ANCOVA performed on the relevant attributes of Positive M did not yield a significant order effect, $F(2,52)=2.10$, $p>.13$; and the significant time x order interaction, $F(2,104)=2.73$, $p=.03$, did not yield simple order effects for the posttest, $F(2,56)=2.40$, $p>.1$, nor follow-up test, $F(2,52)=2.13$, $p>.13$. Furthermore, the simple effects test for the within subjects factor of the time x order interaction did not yield significant effects for Treatment Group 1, $F(2,104)=1.03$, $p>.2$, Treatment Group 2, $F(2,104)=1.68$, $p>.1$, nor the control group, $F(2,104)=2.75$, $p>.05$.

The ANCOVA for the non-relevant attributes of the Positive M did not reach significant order, $F(2,52)=.90$, $p>.41$, nor time x order effects, $F(4,104)=2.12$, $p>.08$.

Negative M

The ANCOVA for the relevant attributes of Negative M did not yield a significant order, $F(2,52)=.95$, $p>.39$, nor time x order effects, $F(2,104)=1.81$, $p>.13$. Similarly, the ANCOVA performed on the non-relevant attributes of the Negative M did not yield significant order, $F(2,52)=1.34$, $p>.27$, nor time x order effects, $F(4,104)=2.24$, $p>.07$.

Absolute Difference Score (AD)

Results of the ANCOVA on the relevant attributes revealed a non-significant effect on order, $F(2,51)=1.73$, $p>.19$, but a significant time x order interaction, $F(4,102)=2.61$, $p<.03$. Clarifying simple effects tests yielded a significant group effect on the follow-up test, $F(2,55)=3.56$, $p<.02$. Subsequent pairwise comparisons (Tukey's, $p=.05$) revealed that Treatment Group 1 subjects stereotyped significantly more ($M=15.5$) than Treatment Group 2 subjects ($M=9.04$). Group differences were also significant on the posttest, $F(2,55)=6.48$, $p=.0008$, but the Tukey's pairwise comparison did not yield significant simple effects.

The within subjects factor of the time x order interaction also revealed significant changes across time. Treatment Group 1 subjects had an overall change across time, $F(2,102)=15.26$, $p<.001$, with a significant decrease in stereotyping from pretest ($M=20.75$) to posttest ($M=12.81$).

The differences between pretest and follow-up test ($\bar{M}=15.5$) were also significant.

Treatment Group 2 subjects also changed significantly across time on the Absolute Difference Scores that were based on the relevant attributes, $F(2,102)=24.99$, $p<.001$. Pairwise comparisons revealed that stereotyping decreased significantly from pretest ($\bar{M}=20.98$) to posttest ($\bar{M}=12.27$) and from pretest to follow-up test ($\bar{M}=9.04$). Similar results were obtained for control group subjects. They had a significant overall change in stereotyping across time, $F(2,102)=4.86$, $p<.01$, with the decrease from pretest ($\bar{M}=14.07$) to posttest ($\bar{M}=9.99$) and from pretest to follow-up test ($\bar{M}=10.5$) reaching significance.

Results of the ANCOVA for the non-relevant attributes of the Ad did not yield a significant order effect, $F(2,51)=2.97$, $p>.06$, but the time x order interaction was significant, $F(4,102)=2.48$, $p<.04$. Simple effects tests for order revealed a significant group effect for the posttest, $F(3,55)=8.29$, $p<.0001$, but the subsequent pairwise comparison did not yield significant results. Simple effects tests for order also revealed a significant group effect for the follow-up test, $F(2,51)=4.2$, $p<.009$. Pairwise comparisons revealed that Treatment Group 1 subjects stereotyped significantly more ($\bar{M}=14.33$) than control group subjects ($\bar{M}=8.04$). Treatment Group 2 subjects ($\bar{M}=10.96$) did

not differ significantly from either the control group nor Treatment Group 1 subjects.

The within subjects factor of the time x order interaction revealed significant changes across time for Treatment Group 1, $F(2,102)=20.96$, $p<.001$, with a significant decrease in stereotyping from pretest ($M=15.24$) to posttest ($M=7.18$) and a significant increase in stereotyping (return to pretest levels) from posttest to follow-up test ($M=14.33$).

Treatment Group 2 subjects also changed significantly across time, $F(2,102)=27.85$, $p<.001$, with a significant decrease in stereotyping from pretest ($M=16.79$) to posttest ($M=4.63$) and a significant increase in stereotyping from posttest to follow-up test ($M=10.96$). The differences in stereotyping from pretest to follow-up test were also significant, indicating that the increase in stereotyping three weeks after training did not reach the same high levels of stereotyping that existed before training.

Finally, significant changes in stereotyping were also found for the control group, $F(2,102)=15.98$, $p<.001$. As with Treatment Group 2, the control group significantly decreased in stereotyping from pretest ($M=12.3$) to posttest ($M=4.8$) and increased in stereotyping from posttest to follow-up test ($M=8.04$). The differences in stereotyping from pretest to follow-up test were also significant.

CHAPTER V DISCUSSION

The primary focus of this study was to investigate the effects of racial identity stage theory training on White students' prejudice and stereotyping of Blacks. It was hypothesized that racial identity training would decrease prejudice and stereotyping on the posttest. Several measures of prejudice and stereotyping were taken, yielding findings that provided qualified support for the overall idea that subjects who receive racial identity training differ in their perceptions of Blacks than subjects who do not receive such training. The findings also revealed that different training content led to different results.

The strongest conclusion reached in the analyses of the dependent variables for prejudice (Positive M, Negative M, Modern Racism Scale, and Desire for Contact) is that subjects who received training in Minority and Majority Identity (Treatment 1) were more prejudiced toward Blacks (immediately following training) than were subjects who received Minority Identity training only (Treatment 2) and no training. Support for this conclusion follows the strength of the results yielded by the Modern Racism Scale analysis. The time x group interaction for the MRS revealed that, while Treatment Group 2 subjects had a slight decrease

in prejudice after training, Treatment Group 1 subjects significantly increased in prejudice after training, and that the level of prejudice reached by Treatment Group 1 subjects was significantly higher than either the prejudice levels of Treatment Group 2 or of the control group.

The posttest results of Desire for Contact also support the conclusion that training in Minority and Majority Identity is not as effective in reducing prejudice as training in Minority Identity only.

The stereotype measures requiring the use of various attributes (Probability of Differentiation, Perceived Variability, and Absolute Difference Score) yielded significant results on the post hoc analyses when the attributes relevant to the independent variable were separated from those that were not. These measures, along with Member-to-Group Inference, concur with the major findings regarding prejudice, in that subjects who received Minority and Majority Identity training (Treatment Group 1) stereotyped more than subjects who received Minority Identity training alone or no training. Below is a more detailed interpretation and evaluation of the results as they relate to the hypotheses and their corresponding dependent measures.

Perceived Distribution (Pd, Var, M)

The three hypotheses that were based on the dependent variables generated from the perceived distribution task

were not supported in this study. The perceived distribution task, modeled on Linville and her colleagues' (1986; 1989) method for assessing stereotyping behavior and prejudice, required subjects to distribute 100 Black students into seven categories along a given attribute dimension. Calculated from this distribution are Probability of Differentiation (Pd) and Perceived Variability (Var), both measures of stereotyping, and the Central Tendency of the Perceived Distribution (Positive M and Negative M), measures of prejudice. It was hypothesized, but not confirmed, that after receiving Minority Identity training, with or without Majority Identity training, subjects would decrease in stereotyping and prejudice as determined by these three dependent measures.

These dependent measures are of particular interest and relevance to the study because the theoretical basis of the distribution task and its corresponding measures closely resembles the theoretical importance of Minority and Majority Identity Development theories in the multicultural counseling field. To illustrate, Linville et al. (1986) make the assumption that "social categories evolve from relatively general, undifferentiated structures to more highly differentiated ones" (p. 166). Furthermore, they state that greater category familiarity leads to greater perceived differentiation and variability. Similarly, the

current emphasis in the multicultural counseling field on racial identity development models stems in part from the recognition that (1) to avoid stereotyping, counselors need to be able to see differences among ethnic minority groups and other underserved populations, and (2) Minority and Majority Identity Development theories offer an approach for understanding and increasing perceived group differentiation in a manner that is directly applicable to counseling (Helms, 1984; Parham, & Helms, 1981). Based on these points it would be expected that subjects receiving Minority Identity training (with or without Majority Identity training) would acquire an increased capability for perceiving differences among Black students. Since the Pd and Var are direct measure of this property, the nonsignificant results are puzzling.

Three possibilities might account for these findings. First, the perceived distribution task may have been too difficult to complete. In a study using Linville's perceived distribution task, Judd and Park (1988) discovered that subjects sometimes had difficulty completing the task. They reasoned that subjects had difficulty concentrating on the shape of the distribution being formed because they were so concerned with making the numbers add up to 100. For this reason, it is possible that training could have had an effect on Pd, Var, and M, but the numbers from which these

measures were generated were not an accurate representation of subjects' perceived distribution.

It is also possible that, one of the measures, the Pd, may not have served as an effective measure of dispersion. Support for this possibility comes from Park and Judd (1990). They examined how people form and use judgements of variability and studied the validity and reliability of several measures used to assess variability, including Linville and her colleagues' perceived distribution task and the accompanying Pd measure. Even when the difficulty of completing the task was partially improved by simplifying it (using colored dots of varying sizes instead of numbers), Park and Judd (1990) concluded that the Pd, compared to other measures of dispersion, was not a very sensitive measure of perceived differentiation and failed to find an effect where all other measures of dispersion had.

The third explanation for the nonsignificant results of the Pd, Var, and Positive and Negative M, is that the training did not influence perceived distributions because of the particular attributes used for generating these dependent variables. Theoretically, subjects taught about the various stages of racial identity development should have acquired a general understanding of the idea that there are various differences among Black people. The specific references to attitudes and beliefs of Blacks made during the Minority Identity training should not be as important as

the more abstract content that emphasizes that there are several differences among Blacks. However, the necessary leap required to apply the concept of within group differences (based on racial identity stages) to the attributes used in the distribution task may have been too great. Specifically, it is possible that the sensitivity of the Pd, Var, and M would have been greater if only those attributes that directly related to the attributes included in the training were used in the distribution task. To test this possibility, post hoc analyses targeted specific dimensions of prejudice and stereotyping in the racial identity training that corresponded with those attributes used in calculating the dependent variables.

Results of the post hoc analyses for the relevant and non-relevant attributes used to calculate the Pd, Var, and M yielded findings that suggest that attribute relevance did indeed affect the sensitivity of the Pd and Var, but not the M. Although the results of the Pd post hoc analyses were not strong, they showed that overall, Treatment Group 1 subjects stereotyped more than control group subjects. This finding was not generated when the non-relevant attributes were included in the initial analyses.

The post hoc analyses on the Var also yielded significant results for the relevant attributes, indicating that on the posttest, Treatment Group 1 subjects stereotyped more than Treatment Group 2 and the control group subjects.

No group differences were found for the non-relevant attributes but a time effect showed that Treatment Group 1 subjects increased in stereotyping immediately after training. Separating the relevant and non-relevant attributes from the Positive and Negative M did not lead to significant effects.

Overall, these findings support the significant findings yielded by the other dependent variables: the training received by Treatment Group 1 was not only less effective in reducing negative stereotypes as compared to Treatment Group 2 and the control group, but actually led to an increase in stereotyping across time.

Absolute Difference Score (AD)

The Absolute Difference Score was the only measure used in this study that examined differentiation between groups. Subjects' views toward Black students were examined in relation to their views toward themselves (White students). For each attribute, subjects were asked to determine how many Black students and how many White students out of 100 would be characterized by the attributes. The difference in predictions between Black and White students constituted a measure of the extent of stereotyping. It was hypothesized that subjects who received Minority Identity training, with or without Majority Identity training, would stereotype less than the control group in that they would see themselves (i.e. White students) as less distinct from Black students.

Results did not support this hypothesis and no significant differences were found until the attributes relevant to training were separated from the non-relevant attributes in the post hoc analyses.

As with the Pd, Var, and M, it was reasoned that a treatment effect was being masked by the attributes used to generate the AD score. When separated, results yielded significant decreases in stereotyping across time for all groups. However, not just a practice effect was found. The analysis also yielded significantly higher stereotyping for Treatment Group 1 subjects three weeks after training as compared to Treatment Group 2 subjects (relevant attributes) and control group subjects (non-relevant attributes). The hypothesized decrease in AD scores for the groups receiving training was not supported.

Perhaps the hypothesis for the AD was not supported because of the effects of three confounding forces: liking, contact, and the interaction of the two. Biernat (1991) found that as subjects' liking increased, stereotyping, as measured by the Absolute Difference Score, decreased. That is, as subjects' interest in a group increased, they tended to see fewer differences between the target group (e.g. "greeks") and the comparison group (university students in general). Although training did not significantly decrease stereotyping as compared to the control group, there was a decrease in AD scores for both groups receiving training.

It is possible that "liking" increased because of training, a possibility that is supported by subjects' statements during the training that they liked some of the Black students introduced in the video tape.

Confounding effects may also follow from a second finding of Biernat (1991). An increase in contact (number of acquaintances) led to an increase in Absolute Difference Scores. The explanation is that contact leads to a more complex way of viewing a group and the potential for seeing how the target group (Black students) differs for the comparison group (White students).

The third point gleaned from Biernat's (1991) findings adds to the already complex evaluation of the results yielded by the AD. To summarize, an increase in contact leads to an increase in liking, which in turn leads to a decrease in seeing differences between groups. However, if contact is a negative experience it leads to a decrease in liking, which in turn should lead to an increase in stereotyping. Some of the "contact" subjects received during training was negative, as indicated by the negative feelings expressed regarding one of the Black students in the video. Contact with Black students, as had occurred with the two treatment groups, may not only have affected subjects' cognitively by increasing their perception of distinctions between Blacks and Whites, but it may also have affected them emotionally, and led to an overall decrease

(albeit tempered) in seeing differences between Blacks and Whites.

Before exploring the other findings in the present study, it might be useful to consider other reasons why the primary dependent variables for stereotyping (Pd, Var, AD) did not support the hypotheses.

The fundamental cognitive task required when one attempts to avoid making stereotypical judgements is to pay close attention to nonstereotypical characteristics, or individuating information. Several researchers have found that informational factors can lead subjects to pay closer attention to individuating information about a target. According to Fiske, Neuberg, Beattie, and Milberg (1987) and Neuberg and Fisk (1987), automatic reliance on stereotypical responses can be thwarted if individuating information is inconsistent with categorical information. Subjects also paid attention to individuating information when motivational factors were implemented. For example, when the performance of the target person led to a reward for the subject, and when subjects were implored to strive for accuracy, stereotyping decreased (Fiske et al., 1987; Neuberg & Fiske, 1987).

In the present study, subjects were presented with individuating information about Black students. However, they were also presented with information that confirmed some of the negative stereotypes of Blacks. Additionally,

no rewards and no efforts toward imploring sensitivity were made in the current study.

Unfortunately, the primary findings in the present study regarding the resiliency of stereotypes are consistent with other literature. For example, Rothbart and John (1985) created a model that examined the process of stereotype change resulting from contact with individual group members. They addressed the question of whether information disconfirming a group stereotype obtained through contact with a sample of group members generalizes to the group as a whole. They concluded that it does not. Their cognitive-processing model is based on the findings of cognitive and intergroup perception research. They postulated that when one is presented with individuating information that is inconsistent with category information (e.g. an engineer who is Black) the new information is not encoded in memory by the superordinate category of "Blacks." Instead, the perceiver more strongly associates the person with the subordinate category "Engineer." Subsequent requests to retrieve information about Blacks will therefore not tap into the counterstereotypical example. This model is confirmed by experiences of Black professionals who have often heard their White colleagues say "When I look at you, I don't see you as a Black person." The consciousness raising retort of "Look real hard and maybe you'll notice" illustrates the mechanism which Rothbart and John (1985)

claimed will lead to stereotype change. "Black professional" must be associated with the superordinate category "Black" and not with the subordinate category "professional" for stereotypes to change. A direct test of their model yielded significant results, supporting the notion that atypical exemplars of categories were not adequately represented in memory as legitimate category members. Furthermore, when judgements were made about the category, the atypical members were not taken into account.

The durability of stereotypes was also demonstrated by Devine (1989). Her research was based on the premise that learning about cultural stereotypes is inevitable for everyone interacting with his or her culture. Belief in a stereotype is a separate issue. Devine found that subjects who were low in prejudice were able to inhibit the expression of stereotypical thoughts. However, when low prejudiced subjects were forced to make automatic responses without conscious monitoring, stereotypical or prejudice-like responses were generated. Good intentions could not overcome the strength of involuntary stereotype effects.

Nelson, Biernat, and Manis (1990) also found that despite a concerted effort to induce subjects to decrease or eliminate their use of stereotypes when evaluating individual group members, subjects were unable to do so. Subjects were asked to judge the height of men and women, and were explicitly warned not to let the stereotype about

height interfere with their judgement, because for every male example of a given height there was a corresponding female. Additionally, for the subject who demonstrated the best judgement and sensitivity, a \$50 reward was promised. The two inducements did not alter subject reliance on the stereotype about height. Men were still judged to be taller than women. The only factor that had led to a decrease in stereotyping was the matching of stereotypic with counter-stereotypic characteristics. For example, a woman with a typically male career goal was judged taller than a woman with a typically female career goal. These results support the cognitive-processing model developed by Rothbart and John (1985) in that stereotypes are very difficult to change, but when the superordinate (e.g. female) category is emphasized along with the subordinate (e.g. male career), some change is possible.

A final question which has yet to be addressed is why the findings of the analyses on the AD, along with the findings of the Pd and Var, indicate that Treatment Group 1 subjects stereotyped more after training than Treatment Group 2 and control group subjects. These results were also similar to the prejudice findings derived from the Modern Racism Scale, and will be addressed below.

Modern Racism Scale (MRS)

The results of the Modern Racism Scale confirm that racial identity training had an effect on subjects attitudes

toward Blacks and that different training led to different results. Before exploring the specific findings it is important to examine the theoretical basis of the MRS. McConahay, Hardee, & Batts (1981) developed the theory of modern racism that addresses the debate regarding the extent to which racism had declined. They made a distinction between "old fashioned racial beliefs," which everyone recognizes as racism, and a new set of "symbolic beliefs" that arose after the civil rights movement. Furthermore, they proposed that, while belief in old fashioned racism has declined, anti-Black affect has remained and has been displaced onto new beliefs. They found that many Whites do not recognize the racial basis of the new beliefs and instead argue that they are based upon non-racial, political, and social values. For example, by asking questions regarding a subjects' belief in the continued existence of discrimination, the right of Blacks to push themselves into situations where they are not wanted, or the extent to which Blacks are getting more money or attention than they deserve, anti-Black attitudes are obtained.

The findings in this study demonstrated that subjects who received Minority and Majority Identity Development training increased in their anti-Black attitudes immediately after training. In contrast, subjects who received Minority Identity Development training alone slightly decreased in anti-Black attitudes immediately after training. Two

questions arise: (1) Does Majority Identity training cause Whites to increase their negative attitudes toward Blacks? (2) Does the interaction of Minority and Majority Identity training cause Whites to increase their negative attitudes toward Blacks? Although only future research can provide empirical answers to these questions, some speculative inferences can be made. First, receiving Majority Identity training may be threatening to most White people. Support for this possibility can be found from the Majority Identity Development model itself. For example, Ponterotto (1988) stated that most students entering a university counseling program are in the first stage of Majority Identity development. He described the White person in this stage as one who "has given little thought to multicultural issues or to his or her role as a White person in a racist and oppressive society" (p.151). Similarly, the Majority Identity model presented in the present study, and presented by official AACD trainers to university administrators and counselors nationwide, states that in the first stage, White people "do not perceive themselves as 'racial beings' and tend to assume that racial and cultural differences are individual matters, not social or political concerns" (see Appendix B). It is very likely that if most White counseling graduate students are in the first stage of Majority Identity Development, White undergraduate students are as well. Training in Majority Identity Development

requires trainees to face themselves as "racial beings" and to explore the meaning of being White as it relates to Black people. Having to face that one is White may lead to guilt or depression (Katz & Ivey, 1977), and perhaps to an increase in anti-Black attitudes (Helms, 1984). It is also possible that an increase in anti-Black attitudes led to an increase in negative stereotyping, thus yielding the results of the Pd, Var, and AD.

By way of contrast, why would Minority Identity Development training lead to a decrease in prejudice toward Blacks? Three factors may be involved: (1) empathy toward Black people may have developed once taught about the struggle of becoming proud of who you are while living in a society that does not value you; (2) focusing on Blacks and their "problems," and not on White peoples' contribution to their problems, is not very threatening and may even encourage a rescuer-like response; and (3) the Minority Identity Development theory provides a sympathetic explanation for several negative stereotypes of Black people.

Posttest Only Measures

The results of the MRS, Pd, Var, and AD are supported by the results of the Member-to Group Inference scores and the Desire for Contact scores. These dependent variables demonstrated that subjects who received Minority and Majority Identity training (Treatment Group 1) were more

prejudiced and negatively stereotypical toward Blacks than subjects who received Minority Identity Development training alone (Treatment Group 2) and those who received no training at all.

Member-to-Group Inference (MTGI)

The significant results of the Member-to-Group Inference (MTGI) scores demonstrate, once again, just how durable stereotypes are. Additionally, the Member-to-Group Inference results demonstrate that training in Majority Identity training along with Minority Identity served to stimulate anti-Black sentiments. The vignette upon which this significant finding was based depicted a Black student portraying a negative stereotypical behavior, i.e., picking a fight with a White student. If either of the two treatment groups had had a significant decrease in the MTGI compared to the control group, then the conclusion that stereotypes were reduced could be made. Instead, results indicated that the Minority Identity trained group did not differ from the control group in stereotype behavior, while the Majority identity training group stereotyped more than the control group. More specifically, the negative behavior of one Black student was generalized to the population of all Black students to a significantly higher level by subjects who received Minority and Majority Identity Development training, than by those who received only Minority Training, or no training whatsoever. As stated

above, the negative impact of training on Treatment Group 1 subjects is probably due primarily to the negative feelings evoked by the Majority Identity Development training.

Finally, it is important to note that no significant between group differences existed on the MTGI response that was based on the vignette that depicted a Black student in a positive, counterstereotypical manner (asking the Vice-President for an interracial meeting with White and Black students). Since the more one holds counterstereotypical beliefs and perceives variability within a group, the more one would have endorsed this particular episode as typical of Black students (Quattrone & Jones, 1980; Nisbett et.al., 1983), the nonsignificant result of this MTGI score further supports the idea that (negative) stereotyping did not decrease as result of racial identity training.

Desire for Contact (DFC)

The DFC results concur with the results of the Pd, Var, AD, MRS and MTGI, indicating that Minority Identity training in conjunction with Majority Identity training led to significantly less positive attitudes toward Black students than Minority Identity training alone. Unlike the other dependent measures, DFC provides a concrete measure of attitude that is directly translated into behavioral intention, in that it is operationally defined as the degree to which subjects want to be involved in an interracial dialogue and to have Black friends. Research on the

relationship between attitudes and behavior suggests that the former does not necessarily predict the latter (e.g. Wicker, 1969). Therefore, the results of the DFC provide additional support that strengthens the results along the other dependent measures.

Training Receptivity and the Dependent Variables

The results of the correlation between the ability to learn the racial identity stage theories and the dependent variables indicated that negative attitudes toward Blacks may have been related to less receptivity to training while favorable attitudes were related to greater receptivity to training. This finding is important in that it appears as though prejudice may interfere with training and that those who may be in greatest need of training are least receptive to it. Future research should address this possibility.

Conclusion

This was the first empirically based research study that examined the effects of Minority and Majority Identity Development training on attitudes and perceptions of trainees. While Minority Identity training led to a positive effect on attitudes, the combination of Majority and Minority Identity training led to an increase in negative attitudes toward Blacks. The implications of these results for multicultural counselor training are serious and warrant further study.

Minority and Majority Identity Development theories are invaluable tools for helping counselors increase their sensitivity and understanding of their clients. For the White mainstream American counselor, it is crucial that he or she not only understand what it means for a Black American to be Black, but also what it means for a White American to be White. Furthermore, a White counselor's racial self-awareness and understanding of racism is directly related to his or her potential effectiveness in working with Black clients (see Helms, 1985; Parham & Helms, 1981).

Efforts are being made nationwide to incorporate multicultural counselor training into graduate curriculum and professional training seminars. Minority and Majority Identity models are a significant component of such programs. It is possible that multicultural counselor training begins a process that involves an increase in negative attitudes toward Blacks. The increase in anti-Black attitudes may be a necessary stage that White people go through when put into situations that involve the exploration of racial identity and racism. The results found in the studies of counseling graduate students enrolled in multicultural counseling courses support the idea that multicultural training is a process that may lead to negative attitudes toward outgroups (Fukuyama, et al., 1987; Ponterotto, 1988).

It seems important that multicultural trainers become aware of such a process and construct training programs that address the process with trainees. Furthermore, given the results of the correlations between the ability to learn racial identity stages and the dependent variables, it becomes apparent that multicultural training must not only address the process that is set into motion as a result of training but also assess the differences between trainees prior to training onset. While some trainees may enter seminars and courses naively, yet willing to learn, others may enter with negative attitudes that inhibit their own learning process. How should training be conducted given the variety of potential needs of training groups? Research and experiences with multicultural training that are successful in facilitating more positive attitudes and behaviors must be conducted and shared.

Future Research and Limitations of the Study

This study raises important questions regarding the effects of racial identity training. Future research must explore more thoroughly the effects of Minority and Majority Identity Development training on the attitudes and perceptions of Whites, perhaps including more reliable measures of stereotyping.

Given the negative impact of combining Majority with Minority Identity training on attitudes, a closer, more controlled examination should be made of the effects of

Majority Identity training alone. Several questions need to be addressed. For example, should the Majority Identity model be presented at the end of a semester-long multicultural counseling course, after students have explored the history and current manifestations of racism? How should trainers handle the inevitable guilt and anger experienced by White trainees when issues of oppression, racism, and White racial identity arise? Ponterotto (1988) gave an example of what happens: "students often feel angry at me, the instructor, because I in essence have allowed them to feel guilty and angry in class" (p. 152). Should the expression of negative feelings and attitudes be encouraged? What are the effects if they are or are not?

Future research also should address the effect of teaching Majority and Minority Development to a group of White and Black students. A racially and culturally mixed classroom is the norm in many graduate counseling programs. What impact does racial identity training have on Whites' attitudes toward Blacks and toward other Whites, and on Blacks' attitudes toward Whites and other Blacks, if they are trained together versus separately? Some trainers who have had successful results fighting campus racism have found that the best way to change White students' anti-Black attitudes is to have training programs aimed directly and exclusively for White students.

Finally, future research should include empirically controlled studies that examine the effects of Minority and Majority Identity training on a population directly generalizable to multicultural counseling trainees. This is especially important given research that suggests that motivational factors influence attitude change. It is likely, for example, that more highly motivated graduate students and professionals would be more responsive to racial identity training than would the undergraduate students used in the present study. Research that examines the effectiveness of multicultural training will help facilitate the creation of programs that lead to the desired goal of such programs -- producing confident and effective multicultural counselors.

APPENDIX A DEBRIEFING

In the field of counseling psychology, training White counselors to become more effective in counseling ethnic minorities has been of great concern in recent years. Multicultural counselor training often involves teaching trainees about racial identity of Whites and Blacks. Racial identity theory states that people of all races go through a series of stages that have implications for one's behavior and attitudes about oneself and other races. Very little empirical research has been done to test the effects of multicultural counselor training in general; and no research has been done to test the impact of training in racial identity theory specifically. The purpose of this project is to study the effects of racial identity training on attitudes and perceptions of Whites.

One of the theoretical underpinnings of this study is the out-group homogeneity hypothesis, which states that outgroups are viewed as being more homogeneous than ingroups. Research has shown, for example, that White people tend to view Black people as more homogeneous in traits and attributes than White people. This is simply another way on saying that people have a tendency to stereotype outgroup members.

In studies measuring the effects of perceived homogeneity, findings show that perceived homogeneity leads to prejudice, discrimination, and the tendency to generalize from the behavior of one outgroup member to the behavior of all outgroup members. We are not sure what the effects of racial identity training will be, but it is possible that White people who have had training in racial identity theory will be less likely to stereotype and more likely to be willing to interact with Blacks than White people who have not had such training. Perhaps teaching people about stages of racial identity will also decrease one's tendency to be prejudiced.

Thank you for participating in this study. If you would like to have a copy of the results, please leave your name and phone number with me.

APPENDIX B

STAGES OF MAJORITY IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

The Stages of Majority Identity Development represent the process by which majority members develop a healthy sense of identity and sensitivity to minority concerns. "Majority" groups are those groups in a society who, by virtue of their group's control of economic, cultural and other rewards, have had a negative effect on groups that differ from the majority. Majority groups include such groups as White Americans, Men, and non-handicapped people. For the purposes of this study, we will be focussing on White Americans as the majority group.

One does not generally "arrive" at the final stage and remain at the level for all future times. For most people, the experience of identity awareness is more like a loop than a straight line. Levels of awareness may be experienced both as linear progression from level to level and as a recycling of a prior level based on new experiences.

For example, one may develop a sense of "autonomy" at the age of 20 but when new life experiences present themselves one may experience a recycling of growth as one goes through the process of synthesizing the changes with one's former sense of identity.

Each stage is briefly described below. Behaviors and attitudes associated with the stages are identified, and some examples of statements associated with the stages are listed.

I. CONTACT STAGE

In this stage majority members become aware of the existence of minority members. White Americans do not perceive themselves as "racial beings" and tend to assume that racial and cultural differences are individual matters, not social or political concerns.

Behaviors and Attitudes:

- believes that everyone is the same, or some may believe that minorities are inferior in some ways to majority group members.

- has a naive curiosity about culturally different people.
- an encounter with a minority group member is a minor crisis.
- believes in the "melting pot" theory of assimilation.

Common Statements:

- "When I talk to you I don't think of you as Black."
- "You can do whatever you want to do as long as you don't do it around me."
- "Why are all the minority students sitting together?"

II. DISINTEGRATION STAGE

In this stage, one acknowledges that prejudice and discrimination exist and are forced to view oneself as a majority group member. Guilt may emerge as racial differences become more apparent.

Behaviors and Attitudes:

- may become immobilized by the enormity of the problem suggested by minority-majority differences.
- sees self as less prejudiced than other members of the majority group.
- wants to be seen as an individual and not a member of any group.
- may attempt to protect minority members from negative interactions with majority group members; will challenge majority members about their behaviors and attitudes.
- may over identify with culture of the majority group.

Common Statements:

- "My parents are very prejudice but I am not."
- "Although I am not responsible for the negative actions of other majority group members, I will confront them about their behaviors."
- "Most Whites are prejudiced towards minorities."

III. REINTEGRATION STAGE

In this stage, the majority member tends to focus on how s/he has been socialized in a majority world. The focus is less on oneself in comparison to minority groups and more on oneself as a member of a majority group.

Behaviors and Attitudes:

- wants to focus on problems associated with own group.
- wants to focus on belief that people are all the same in important ways.
- thinks that too much attention is being placed on cultural differences, and stresses instead the need to foster climate that focuses on the strengths and limitations of all cultures.

Common Statements:

- "Racism isn't the only problem; what about world hunger?"
- "I believe that quotas of any kind are wrong."
- "We're not going to get very far unless other majority group members join us in combating racism."

IV. PSEUDO-INDEPENDENCE STAGE

In this stage the person accepts minority group members as a conceptual level and becomes interested in understanding racial differences. Their involvement with minority group members tends to be limited to those who they perceive to be similar to themselves.

Behaviors and Attitudes:

- can articulate reasons for accepting minority group members.
- has friends who are members of minority groups.
- tends not to be involved in any activity that supports minority group concerns.
- believes that discrimination is a problem of the uneducated.

Common Statements:

- "I accept all minority group members and believe that we all should."
- "Blacks have the same abilities as Whites."
- "Racism is illogical."

V. AUTONOMY STAGE

This final stage is characterized by an individual becoming knowledgeable about racial and cultural similarities as well as differences. This person accepts, respects, and appreciates both minority and majority individuals.

Behaviors and Attitudes:

- seeks opportunities to involve themselves in cross-cultural interactions.
- values diversity.
- respects and appreciates cross-cultural and inter-racial interactions.

Common Statements:

- "I am actively involved in fighting racism."
- "I am a recovering racist."
- "We are all members of the same global community."
- "Discrimination and prejudice against any group has a negative effect on us all."

APPENDIX C

STAGES OF MINORITY IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

The following stages are typically experienced by minority group members (Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, Native American Indians, Women, etc.). Each stage is briefly described below. Behaviors and attitudes associated with the stages are identified, and some examples of statements associated with each stage are listed.

When minority group members experience levels of awareness, they may experience both a linear progression from level to level and a recycling of a prior level based on new experiences. One does not generally "arrive" at the final stage and remain at the level for all future times. For most people, the experience of identity awareness is more like a loop than a straight line. For example, one may develop a sense of "internalization" at the age of 20 but when new life experiences present themselves one may experience a recycling of growth as one goes through the process of synthesizing the changes with one's former sense of identity.

I. ACCEPTANCE STAGE

This stage is characterized by limited self-awareness about differences, and dependence upon the majority group for sense of worth.

Behaviors and Attitudes:

- attitudes toward the world and self are determined by the majority group's logic.
- dislikes one's own group, emulates majority group.
- accepts stereotypes of own group.
- believes that assimilation is the most effective method for problem solving.

Common Statements:

- "We're all just people."
- "Blacks are basically lazy." (said by a Black person)

II. RESISTANCE STAGE

In this stage a significant event creates receptivity to a new identity.

Behaviors and Attitudes:

- openly challenges acts of discrimination against own group.
- intense search for own group history, identity begins.
- reinterprets all events from one's own group perspective.
- experiences deepen the trauma of discrimination.
- separates self from other minority members who seem to still be in the acceptance stage.

Common Statements:

- "I've discovered that my being Black makes a difference to Whites."
- "I was rejected because my skin was too dark."
- "I met a Black man who was proud of being a Black man."

III. REDEFINITION STAGE

In this stage there is a transition from the old identity to a new identity, and an emphasis on the destruction of the old identity and a glorification of the new identity.

Behaviors and Attitudes:

- participates in political action groups, seminars, awareness groups, etc.
- undergoes a liberation from the majority group's values and stereotypes.
- behaves as though majority group members are not human.
- confronts the system.
- person feels an overwhelming attachment to her/his group.
- gradually both the strengths and weaknesses of the majority group and one's own group become visible.

Common Statements:

- "Black is beautiful."
- "All White people are racist."
- "Black people must have their own organizations that can protect Black people and ensure that they will be dealt with equitably on the job."
- "Only Blacks can really understand what it means to be Black."

IV. INTERNALIZATION STAGE

The new identity is incorporated and the individual can renegotiate with the majority.

Behaviors and Attitudes:

- one behaves with a sense of inner security
- one has compassion for all minority people and can apply one's values to all "isms."
- one demonstrates commitment and active participation in making social change.

Common Statements:

- "I can learn from both Whites and Blacks."
- "I'll never change his mind but I can handle his attitude."
- "To be liberated as a Black man I must also confront my own sexism."

APPENDIX D
RESPONSE SHEETS

(Treatment Group 1: Majority and Minority Stage Training)

As you view the video, determine into which stage each student falls and put a check mark next to the stage name.

1. Avonne Abnathya

- ☐ I Acceptance
- ☐ II Resistance
- ☐ III Redefinition
- ☐ IV Internalization

2. Tim Farrell

- ☐ I Contact
- ☐ II Disintegration
- ☐ III Reintegration
- ☐ IV Pseudo Independence
- ☐ V Autonomy

3. Donnese Cheatham

- ☐ I Acceptance
- ☐ II Resistance
- ☐ III Redefinition
- ☐ IV Internalization

4. Ben Brennan

- ☐ I Contact
☐ II Disitegration
☐ III Reintegration
☐ IV Pseudo Independence
☐ V Autonomy

How useful do you think these models are for understanding racial identity (circle the level that fits for you)?

5	4	3	2	1
very useful	somewhat useful	slightly useful	neither useful nor useless	not at all useful

(Treatment Group 2: Minority Stage Training)

As you view the video, determine into which stage each student falls and put a check mark next to the stage name.

1. Avonne Abnathya

- ☐ I Acceptance
☐ II Resistance
☐ III Redefinition
☐ IV Internalization

2. Donnese Cheatham

- ☐ I Acceptance
☐ II Resistance
☐ III Redefinition
☐ IV Internalization

3. Sherie Pietranco

- _____ I Acceptance
_____ II Resistance
_____ III Redefinition
_____ IV Internalization

How useful do you think this model is for understanding Blacks (circle the level that fits for you)?

5	4	3	2	1
very useful	somewhat useful	slightly useful	neither useful nor useless	not at all useful

APPENDIX E
DEPENDENT MEASURES

Bar Code # _____

Name _____ Age _____ Sex _____

Phone _____ Race/Ethnicity _____

Political Affiliation _____

(Modern Racism Scale)

Thank you for participating in this study. Below are a number of opinion statements about public issues, politics, and your beliefs about the world in general. You will agree with some, disagree with some and have no opinion about others. You are under no obligation to give an opinion on any item. However, we would like for you to indicate when you do not have an opinion or when you do not wish to answer, so please do not leave any questions blank.

Your replies will be completely confidential and there are no right or wrong answers. We are interested only in group averages and percentages.

Please use the following scale to indicate your degree of agreement with each item:

- +2 agree strongly
- +1 agree somewhat
- 0 neither agree nor disagree, or no opinion
- 1 disagree somewhat
- 2 disagree strongly
- X I do not wish to answer

___ 1. Blacks shouldn't push themselves where they're not wanted.

___ 2. I would oppose a constitutional amendment aimed at ridding the country of pornography and sexual immorality.

- ___ 3. Our society would have fewer problems if people had less leisure time.
- ___ 4. In a democratic society, the opinion of the majority should always prevail.
- ___ 5. Sex education should be taught in the public school system of the United States.
- ___ 6. It is easy to understand the anger of black people in America.
- ___ 7. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.
- ___ 8. I am opposed to the United States establishing formal diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China.
- ___ 9. Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to blacks than they deserve.
- ___ 10. A distaste for work usually reflects a weakness of character.
- ___ 11. I would favor a constitutional amendment to permit non-sectarian prayers and religious services in the public schools.
- ___ 12. Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.
- ___ 13. The United States Senate should not ratify the SALT II agreements with Russia.
- ___ 14. I favor ratification of the ERA (Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution).
- ___ 15. Blacks have more influence upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have.
- ___ 16. It is okay for a woman to ask a man out on a date.
- ___ 17. Deep in my heart, I know that I am a white racist.
- ___ 18. The United States Senate did the right thing when it ratified the Panama Canal Treaty.
- ___ 19. Discrimination against blacks is no longer a problem in the United States.

___ 20. It is easy to understand the anger of women in America.

___ 21. In a divorce, the woman should always receive custody of the children.

___ 22. I am usually shy whenever I attend a mixer or other large party.

(First Half of Questions to Measure
Absolute Difference Score)

In this section the task is different. Note that the same question is asked for each trait.

Pretend you have met 100 Black students attending UF

Of those 100 Black students, how many would you say are
AGGRESSIVE: ___ out of 100

Of those 100 Black students, how many would you say are
ATHLETIC: ___ out of 100

Of those 100 Black students, how many would you say are
CLICKISH: ___ out of 100

Of those 100 Black students, how many would you say are
FRIENDLY: ___ out of 100

Of those 100 Black students, how many would you say are
INTELLIGENT: ___ out of 100

Of those 100 Black students, how many would you say are
LAZY: ___ out of 100

Of those 100 Black students, how many would you say are
PREJUDICED: ___ out of 100

Of those 100 Black students, how many would you say are
TRUSTWORTHY: ___ out of 100

(Items Used to Measure Perceived Distribution)

This next task is a little more challenging. The same traits you used on the previous page are also in this section. This time, for each of the characteristics listed below, estimate the percentage of UF Black students who fall into each of the seven levels of each characteristic.

In other words, pretend you have just met 100 UF Black students. How many fall into each level.

Assume that any given Black student falls into one and only one level of the characteristic.

Write your estimate above each level on the scale below and be sure that the percentages you assign to the different levels of a characteristic add up to 100%.

/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____
 very aggressive somewhat neutral somewhat unaggressive not at all
 aggressive aggressive unaggressive aggressive

/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____
 very athletic somewhat neutral somewhat unathletic not at all
 athletic athletic unathletic athletic

/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____
 very clickish somewhat neutral somewhat nonclickish not at all
 clickish clickish nonclickish clickish

/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____
 very friendly somewhat neutral somewhat unfriendly not at all
 friendly friendly unfriendly friendly

/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____
 very intelligent somewhat neutral somewhat unintelligent not at
 intelligent intelligent unintelligent intelligent

/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____
 very lazy somewhat neutral somewhat nonlazy not at all
 lazy lazy nonlazy lazy

/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____
 very prejudiced somewhat neutral somewhat nonprejudiced not at all
 prejudiced prejudiced nonprejudiced prejudiced

/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____/_____
 very trustworthy somewhat neutral somewhat untrustworthy not at all
 trustworthy trustworthy untrustworthy trustworthy

(Second Half of Questions to Measure
Absolute Difference Score)

This final section is similar to one you have already done. Note that the same question is asked for each trait. Please answer as honestly as possible.

Pretend you have met 100 White students attending UF

Of those 100 White students, how many would you say are
AGGRESSIVE: ___ out of 100

Of those 100 White students, how many would you say are
ATHLETIC: ___ out of 100

Of those 100 White students, how many would you say are
CLIQUISH: ___ out of 100

Of those 100 White students, how many would you say are
FRIENDLY: ___ out of 100

Of those 100 White students, how many would you say are
INTELLIGENT: ___ out of 100

Of those 100 White students, how many would you say are
LAZY: ___ out of 100

Of those 100 White students, how many would you say are
PREJUDICED: ___ out of 100

Of those 100 White students, how many would you say are
TRUSTWORTHY: ___ out of 100

(Member-to-Group Inference and
Desire For Contact)

Below are four episodes occurring at UF, followed by question(s). Read the episodes carefully and answer the questions (s) that follow each episode as best as you can. There are no right or wrong answers.

I. A Black student asked to meet with Vice President Art Sandeen to express his desire to get Black and White students together to discuss ways to improve relations between Blacks and Whites on campus.

a. What percentage of Black students at UF do you believe would want to be involved in such discussions: ___ %

b. How interested would you be in participating in a discussion like this (Check the response that fits for you):

- _____ very interested
- _____ somewhat interested
- _____ neither interested nor uninterested
- _____ slightly uninterested
- _____ somewhat uninterested
- _____ not at all interested

II. A Black student was walking down Frat row when a White student yelled "niger" out of the window of a Frat house.

c. What percentage of White students at UF do you believe would exhibit the type of behavior as the White student in this episode: _____ %

III. A Black student was feeling angry and picked a fight with a White student for no apparent reason.

d. What percentage of Black students at UF do you believe would exhibit the type of behavior as the Black student in this episode _____ %

IV. A White student met with Vice President Art Sandeen and expressed his desire to meet with Black UF students to discuss ways to improve relations between Blacks and Whites on campus.

e. What percentage of White students at UF do you believe would want to be involved in such discussions: _____ %

f. In general, how interested would you be in becoming friends with Black students at UF (check the response that fits for you):

- _____ very interested
- _____ somewhat interested
- _____ neither interested nor uninterested
- _____ slightly uninterested
- _____ somewhat uninterested
- _____ not at all interested

g. If you were to have 10 very close friends from UF by the time you graduate, how many of them would you like to have that were Black: _____ out of 10.

APPENDIX F
PILOT STUDY FOR GENERATING ATTRIBUTES

1. List five stereotypes, positive or negative, that you think are typical of UF Black students, or Black students in general. Our interest is in finding out about stereotypes, not in your personal beliefs about Black students.

Indicate if positive or
negative with + or -

- | | |
|----------|-------|
| 1. _____ | _____ |
| 2. _____ | _____ |
| 3. _____ | _____ |
| 4. _____ | _____ |
| 5. _____ | _____ |

2. List five stereotypes, positive or negative, that you think are typical of UF White students, or White students in general. Again, our interest is in finding out about stereotypes, not in your personal beliefs about White UF students.

- | | |
|----------|-------|
| 1. _____ | _____ |
| 2. _____ | _____ |
| 3. _____ | _____ |
| 4. _____ | _____ |
| 5. _____ | _____ |

APPENDIX G
PILOT STUDY FOR SELECTING VIGNETTES

Rate the following vignettes according to how positive or negative you feel about the actor(s) in **bold print**. Please use the following scale:

- | | |
|----|-------------------|
| -3 | very negative |
| -2 | somewhat negative |
| -1 | slightly negative |
| 0 | neutral |
| +1 | slightly positive |
| +2 | somewhat positive |
| +3 | very positive |

- _____ a. As a White student was walking toward Library West, a **Black** student was walking toward him. The White student said "Hi" and the Black student ignored him.
- _____ b. A **Black** student was feeling angry and picked a fight with a White student for no apparent reason.
- _____ c. A **Black** student asked to meet with Vice President Art Sandeen to express his desire to get Black and White students together to discuss ways to improve relations between Blacks and Whites on campus.
- _____ d. A Black fraternity had a party. Several **brothers** became intoxicated and started fighting.
- _____ e. A Black student was walking in front of the Hub and said "Hello" to a **White** student. The White student walked by without saying anything.
- _____ f. A **White** student was feeling angry and picked a fight with a Black student for no apparent reason.
- _____ g. A **White** student met with Vice President Art Sandeen and expressed his desire to meet with Black UF students to discuss ways to improve relations between Blacks and Whites on campus.
- _____ h. A Black student was walking down frat row when a **White** student yelled "niger" out the window of a frat house.

- _____ i. Two **Black** female students were talking about guys and both expressed their desire to date White students.
- _____ j. A White fraternity had a party. Several **brothers** became intoxicated and started fighting.
- _____ k. **Black** students were planning a campus-wide party and advertised that they wanted to have a lot of White students attend.
- _____ l. Two **White** female students were talking about guys and both expressed their desire to date Black students.
- _____ m. **White** students were planning a campus-wide party and advertised that they wanted to have a lot of Black students attend.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Anne Elizabeth Heath has a unique multicultural background that has resulted in a strong dedication to the field of multicultural counseling, training, and research. Her father is Milton Heath, an African American, born and raised in Trinidad. Her mother, Alice Heath, is a White American from Upstate New York. Anne was born in San Juan, Puerto Rico, where Spanish became her first language to read and write. Her parents had moved to Puerto Rico in 1953, as pioneers for the Baha'i Faith, and returned to Upstate New York 14 years later. Anne attended public schools in Monroe County and graduated with honors from Greece Athena High School in 1978.

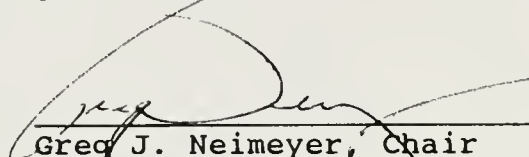
In 1982, Anne received her Bachelor of Science in psychology from St. Lawrence University, graduating magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa. She then worked for three years as an international student advisor at the University of Rochester while participating as a research assistant for a study on therapy for depression.

Anne entered the counseling psychology program at the University of Florida in 1985, received her Master of Science in 1987, and completed her full year clinical

internship at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, in 1991.

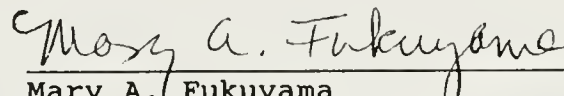
Anne has accepted a tenure track faculty position with the Graduate Counseling Program at Rollins College in Winter Park, Florida. Her plans include continued research and training in multicultural counseling, participating in Rollin's international teaching opportunities, and building a small private practice.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



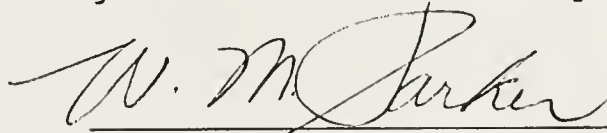
Greg J. Neimeyer, Chair
Professor of Psychology

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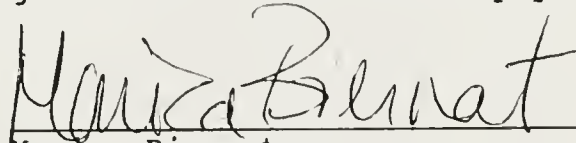
Mary A. Fukuyama
Associate Clinical Professor of
Psychology

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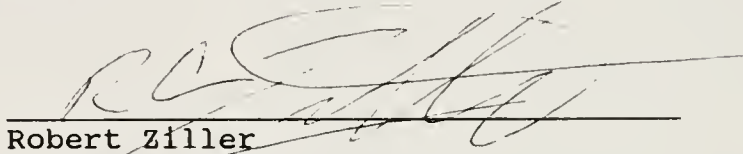
W. Max Parker
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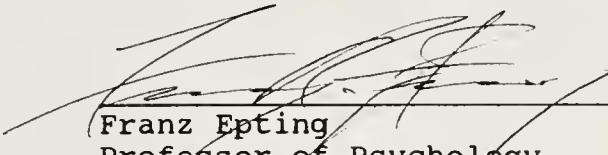
Monica Biernat
Assistant Professor. of Psychology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Robert Ziller
Professor of Psychology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Franz Epting
Professor of Psychology

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Psychology in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 1992

Dean, Graduate School

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA



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